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AN INTRODUCTION
TO
GREEK SCULPTURE
UPCOTT

London
HENRY FROWDE



OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS WAREHOUSE
AMEN CORNER, E.C.

Clarendon Press Series

AN INTRODUCTION

TO

GREEK SCULPTURE

BY

Lewis Edward
L. E. UPCOTT, M.A.

*Late Scholar of Corpus Christi College, Oxford
Assistant Master in Marlborough College*

Oxford

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1887

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PREFACE

EIGHT years ago I set on foot a small collection of casts and photographs from the antique at Marlborough College, and wrote a 'Sketch of the History of Greek Sculpture' to serve as a guide to the examples then gathered together, and a help to those who might be sufficiently interested in the subject to pursue it afterwards. The idea which gave birth to this germ of the present book has not been lost sight of in enlarging it. I have had in view a Museum of casts and photographs, adapted to the needs of a school, to which the book shall serve as a somewhat elaborate guide. I have passed lightly over the earlier period of development, as being of less interest to the young student; I have worked from existing remains, and only used literary record as a help to their right interpretation; I have sought in every work treated at length to bring out some general principle of wider application; and finally, I have avoided purely archaeological detail as far as possible and assumed a good deal that I am aware may be matter of controversy.

At the time when the 'Sketch' was first compiled, I drew entirely from German sources, there being then, so far as I know, no book on the subject originally written in English. Since that time several have appeared, notably those of Mr. A. S. Murray and Mr. W. C. Perry. I have made use of anything in them which I found suited to my purpose, but my chief indebtedness

is still to such writers as Overbeck and Friederichs, and the earlier labours of K. O. Müller. A list of Authorities is appended, not professing to be exhaustive, but rather intended as a guide to learners ; and some other lists are added, which it is hoped may prove useful.

It remains to say that I shall be happy to give any information in my power to those who are desirous of forming such a collection as I have spoken of above.

LEWIS E. UPCOTT.

MARLBOROUGH :

October 1886.

AUTHORITIES.

(a) Larger Works dealing with the whole subject :—

OVERBECK, *Geschichte der griechischen Plastik* (3rd ed.).

BRUNN, *Geschichte der griechischen Künstler*.

FRIEDERICH, *Bausteine zur Geschichte der griechisch-römischen Plastik*.

(A translation has lately appeared. It is a descriptive catalogue of the Berlin Gallery of Casts.)

LÜBKE, *Geschichte der Plastik*. (Translated by Bunnètt. The first vol. deals with Ancient Sculpture.)

MURRAY, *History of Greek Sculpture*.

PERRY, *Popular History of Greek and Roman Sculpture*.

MITCHELL, *History of Ancient Sculpture*.

(b) Smaller Works are :—

MENGE, *Einführung in die antike Kunst* (for schools—with accompanying Atlas of Plates).

REDFORD, *Ancient Sculpture* (one of the series of Illustrated Art Handbooks).

COLLIGNON, *L'Archéologie grecque* (translated).

„ *Mythologie figurée de la Grèce*.

(c) Books of Reference :—

MÜLLER, *Archaeologie der Kunst*.

MÜLLER-WIESELER, *Denkmäler der alten Kunst* (illustrative plates in two parts, (1) historical, (2) mythological).

OVERBECK, *Griechische Kunstmythologie*.

„ *Die antiken Schriftquellen*. (Extracts from ancient authors dealing with art subjects arranged chronologically.)

Journal of Hellenic Studies, and several foreign Archaeological Journals.

RAYET, *Monuments de l'Art antique*.

WELCKER, *Alte Denkmäler*.

ARTICLE 'Archaeology' in *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, and others.

GARDNER, *Types of Greek Coins*.

(d) Books dealing with special parts of the subject :—

NEWTON, *Essays in Art and Archaeology*.

WALDSTEIN, *Essays on the Art of Pheidias*.

BOETTICHER, *Olympia*.

DIE FUNDE VON OLYMPIA. (Illustrations issued by the Royal Museum, Berlin.)

HARRISON, *Introductory Studies in Greek Art*.

- (e) There are many older illustrated books which can as a rule only be found in large libraries, as :—
 Marbles of the British Museum.
 Specimens of Ancient Sculpture (Dilettanti Society).
 STUART AND REVETT, Antiquities of Athens.
 VISCONTI, Iconographie grecque et romaine.
 CLARAC, Musée de Sculpture.
- (f) Many of the Guide Books to different Galleries are very useful, especially those to the British Museum Antiquities (Newton), to the Louvre (Fröhner), and to the Glyptothek of Munich (Brunn).

GALLERIES OF CASTS.

Most of the German University Towns possess Collections of Casts. The best in England are that in the Fitz-William Museum at Cambridge, and that in the South Kensington Museum. A smaller collection is in the Taylor Buildings at Oxford. There are also many casts in the Crystal Palace, but not historically arranged.

Casts of the British Museum Marbles and the chief foreign Antiques can be obtained from the firm of the late D. Brucciani, 40, Russell Street, Covent Garden.

Casts of other Antiques mentioned in this book can be had at—

Malpieri, Via di Corso, Rome.

Martinelli, Athens.

Musée des Moulages, au Palais du Louvre, Paris.

Die Formerei der Königl. Museen, Berlin.

G. Eichler, 27, Behrenstr., Berlin.

PHOTOGRAPHERS.

England: W. Mansell & Co., 271, Oxford Street, (who are also agents for several foreign firms.)

Italy: R. Rive, Naples.

Fratelli Alinari, Via Nazionale, 8, Florence.

Munich: F. Hanfstängl, 7, Maximilienstr.

Berlin: Through E. Wasmuth, W. Seemann, E. Quaas.

Madrid: G. Laurent.

Athens: P. Sebah.

Constantin Athanasion.

LIST OF THE CHIEF MONUMENTS ILLUSTRATING THE HISTORY OF GREEK SCULPTURE, ACCORDING TO THE PLACES WHERE THEY ARE TO BE FOUND.

Note.—The numbers prefixed indicate the corresponding chapter of this book. An asterisk (*) prefixed indicates that the work is a Roman copy of a Greek original. A doubtful original is marked (?).

BRITISH MUSEUM :

Assyrian and Egyptian Sculptures.

- (2) 'Strangford' Apollo.

Statues from Branchidae.

Archaic Frieze from Xanthus in Lycia.

'Harpy' Tomb from " "

- *'Choiseul-Gouffier' Apollo.

Archaic Terracotta Reliefs.

Casts of Selinus Metopes.

" Aeginetan Marbles.

" 'Leucothea' Relief (Villa Albani).

- *Bronze Statuette, Apollo of Canachus (Miletus).

- (3) Parthenon Sculptures.

- (4) Slabs from frieze of Nikê Apteros.

Canephoros from Erechtheum.

Casts from Theseum Metopes.

" " Balustrade of Nikê Apteros.

- *Bronze Statuette—Marsyas of Myron.

- *Diskobolos of Myron.

- *Standing Diskobolos.

- (5) *Diadoumenos of Polycleitus.

Phigalian Marbles.

Cast of Heracles Slab from Temple of Olympian Zeus.

" Nikê of Paonius.

- (6) Sculptures from Mausoleum.

Nereid Sculptures from Xanthus.

Friezes from Xanthus.

Sculptured drums of columns from Ephesus.

Dionysus from Choragic Monument of Thrasyllus.

Cast of Hermes of Olympia.

" Frieze of Monument of Lysicrates.

- (8) Demeter from Cnidos.
 Eros (Cupid) 'Elgin.'
 Head of Asklêpios (or Zeus).
 'Girgenti' head of Hera.
 Draped Torso of Asklêpios.
 Bronze Head of Artemis.
 „ Shoulder-plates from Siris.
 „ Head of Hypnos (sleep).
 „ Hermes from France.
 „ Zeus from Paramythia (Hungary).
 ** 'Spinario' or Thorn-Extractor.
 ** 'Farnese' Hermes.
 Lion from Cnidos.
 * Bust of Pericles.
 * „ Aeschines.
 * „ Euripides.
 Statuette of Persephone from Cnidos (hieratic).
 Various fragments from Cyrene, Cnidos, and Halicarnassus, etc.
- (9) Roman Portraits, especially busts of young Augustus, Julius Caesar, Antoninus Pius, M. Aurelius, statue of Hadrian, bust of Antinous.
 'Townley' Venus.
 'Giustiniani' Apollo (Pourtalès).
 Apotheosis of Homer.
 Head of Heracles resembling Naples Statue.
 Statue of Thalia.
 Various sarcophagi.
- PARIS, LOUVRE :
- (2) Assus, Sculptured Architrave of a Temple.
 Samothracian Relief (Agamemnon, Talthybius, etc.).
 Relief called 'l'élévation de la fleur.'
 Thasian Tomb (see Rayet, Mon. de l'Art antique).
- (3) One slab from Parthenon frieze and one Metope; head of Lapith.
- (4) * Orpheus Relief (inscribed Zethus, etc. in Roman letters).
- (5) Fragments from the first exploration of Olympia.
- (6) * Bust of Alexander, and various busts and statues supposed to be of Lysippean type; are commonly called 'Jason.'
 * Apollo Sauroctonos.
 * Figure from Niobé Group.
- (7) Victory (Nikê) of Samothrace.
- (8) Vénus de Milo.
 * 'Velletri' Statue of Athena.
 * Diane à la Biche.
 * Bust of Demosthenes.

- (9) 'Borghese' or Fighting Gladiator.
Germanicus (Hermes Logios).
Centaur Statue.
Augustus in civic dress.
Fine collection of Roman Imperial portrait busts.

BERLIN :

- (5) *Statue of an Amazon.
- (7) Pergamene Marbles.
In Berlin there is the most complete Museum of Casts existing, and likewise reproductions of all the recent discoveries at Olympia.

MADRID :

- (8) *Statue of Hypnos (sleep).
- (9) Bust of Cicero, inscribed, very unlike the commonly accepted busts.
Group called 'San Ildefonso,' of Antinous and his attendant genius.

MUNICH :

- (2) Apollo from Tenea.
Aeginetan Marbles.
- (6) *Eirênê and Ploutos.
*Cnidian Venus (?).
- (8) 'Barberini' Faun.

ATHENS :

- (2) Stêlê of Aristion.
Stêlê from Orchomenos, and many others.
- (3) Sculptures still *in situ*, as those of the Theseum.
Balustrade of Nikê Apteros.
- (6) Lysicrates Monument.
Fragments from Tegea, and other places recently excavated.
And a long series of Grave Monuments extending from the 5th century onwards.

ROME :

- Vatican, Capitol, Lateran, Villas Albani, Ludovisi, Torlonia, etc.
- (2) *Seated Penelope (V.).
Slab called Leucothea (V.A.).
*Hestia (T.).
- (4) *Myron's Diskobolos (V.).
*Standing " "
- (5) *Doryphoros restored as Discob. (V.).
*Amazon (V. and C.).
- (6) *Apoxyomenos of Lysippos (V.).
*Apollo Sauroctonos (V.).
*Satyr of Praxiteles (C.).
*Cnidian Venus (V.).
- (7) Laocoon (V.).
? Dying Gaul (C.).

- ? Gaul killing wife (V.L.).
- *Alexander (C.).
- (8) *‘Otricoli’ Zeus (V.).
- ? Ariadne (V.).
- *Meleager (V.).
- ? Silenus and Bacchus (V.).
- *‘Belvedere’ Hermes (V.).
- ? Menander and Poseidippus (V.).
- *Euripides (V.).
- *Demosthenes (V.).
- *Spinario (C.).
- ? Sophocles (L.).
- ? Colossal Head of Hera (V.L.).
- (9) Most of the treasures at Rome are in this category. A few of the chief are :
 - Augustus (V.).
 - Bust of Young Augustus (V.).
 - Belvedere Torso (V.).
 - Bacchic Sarcophagus (V.).
 - Centaur Statues (C.).
 - Orestes and Electra (V.L.).
 - Equestrian Bronze Statue of M. Aurelius (C.).
 - Reliefs on arches and columns, as the Arch of Titus, Column of Trajan, etc.

NAPLES :

Possesses the finest collection of antique bronzes, chiefly derived from excavations in Herculaneum and Pompeii, and besides these :—

- (2) *Harmodius and Aristogeiton.
- Stélê resembling that of Ariston.
- (4) *Orpheus Relief, inscribed in Greek letters.
- (5) *Doryphoros of Polycleitus.
- (7) Toro ‘Farnese’ (group of Dirce).
- (8) ‘Farnese’ bust of Hera.
- (9) Heracles of Glycon. Flora.

PALERMO :

- (2) Metopes from Selinus.

FLORENCE :

- (6) Niobê Group.
- Apollino.
- (9) Venus de’ Medici.
- Thusnelda.

VIENNA :

Reliefs representing scenes from Trojan War recently brought from Lycia.

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EXPLANATION OF REFERENCES.

REFERENCES to the best-known Authors are made direct. Pliny's Nat. Hist. is quoted by sections (ed. Sillig. Gotha 1851-8), Pausanias by chapters and sections.

For obscurer Authors reference is made to Overbeck's convenient *Schriftquellen*, quoted as SQ.

D. A. K.= Müller-Wieseler's *Denkmäler der alten Kunst*, an indispensable book of reference for students.

For illustrations the reader is referred to the works of Overbeck, Murray, Perry, and Redford, and the *Monuments de l'Art antique* of O. Rayet.

For other references, see list of Authorities.

GREEK SCULPTURE.

CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTION.

§ 1. **Religious Origin of Greek Sculpture.** Greek Sculpture in its origin was the offspring of Greek religion. The early Greek believed in many gods because he saw personal agency in every phenomenon of nature; the gods were thus personifications of the powers of nature. Being of human type, the gods had not unlimited powers, but could only act where present. Almost every divinity, therefore, had a local habitation assigned him, and here were erected the temple, which was imagined to be his dwelling-place, and the image, which symbolised his presence. Thus far the Greek religion does not differ from the polytheism of other primitive peoples. But what gave the Greek divinities their essential character was their poetical and picturesque nature, the reflex of the temper of their worshippers. The lives and actions and forms of the gods, as presented in mythology, were such as appealed to men's imagination and drew their minds away from their own daily, prosaic, occupations. They became objects of wonder and delight, sometimes also—but not wholly or overpoweringly, as in the East—of terror. As such they lent themselves to imaginative treatment in Poetry and Art. Many another early people made images of its divinities, but few invested them with poetic attributes as well as the attribute of power. The Greeks did so; and not only so, but they learnt to give outward expression to the poetry of their

thoughts about the gods by clothing them in shapes of beauty. Their naturally artistic temperament, gradually awakened, led them to associate together the ideas of beauty and power, as well as of beauty and goodness, and indeed to associate beauty with perfection of all kinds.

§ 2. **Local Cults.** The Greeks had no national state-religion. As the whole country was cut up into small independent communities, so each of these held different divinities in special honour. This must be borne in mind in studying the sculptured types of the gods, which often differ considerably. Thus Zeus was the patron-god of the Eleans, Athena of the Athenians, Hera of the Argives; Aphrodite had the centre of her original worship in Cyprus, Apollo at Delphi, and so on. But in course of time certain greater gods came to be invested with national attributes, and were specially called the Olympian gods, as Zeus and Poseidon, and Apollo and Ares. Round these clustered a number of more obscure and less powerful divinities, and a few whose worship was introduced at a comparatively recent date from foreign sources, as Dionysus. The local cults, however, are still of high importance for the history of sculpture, since they determined the special types of each god, or the different types of the same god as worshipped in different places.

§ 3. **Early Religious Art.** In the early development of Greek sculpture, the imagination of sculptors was principally directed towards the elaboration of adequate representations of divine persons. The art was exercised in order to do honour to the gods, and to provide their worshippers with images or idols of them fit to be placed in their temples. From the naturally conservative temper of men in matters of religion, sculptors were bound to follow tradition, and were not permitted to vary in any great degree from the received or conventional type to which men had become attached. The history of very early sculpture is on the one hand a struggle

to overcome the merely mechanical difficulties of imitation in wood or stone, and on the other, a struggle to break down the barriers of convention. That which enabled the Greeks to overcome the first was their conscientious effort to be like nature, to reproduce as faithfully as they could what they actually saw. It was, indeed, this conscientiousness, combined with an instinctive feeling for beauty of form, which made the Greeks such really great sculptors. But even when they had acquired some technical skill, they could not give their imaginations free play until they were allowed to work unfettered by convention. For the early forms, once consecrated by worship, became conventional types, which could not be entirely changed, only perhaps a little modified, without a shock to men's feelings.

§ 4. **Architectural and Athletic Sculpture.** The impulse to a closer study of nature came from the application of sculpture to purposes which, being only indirectly connected with religion, did not demand so strict an adherence to a fixed type as the temple-image. These were chiefly (*a*) the sculptures employed in the ornamentation of the temple itself; (*b*) dedications or thank-offerings to temples which took the form of single or grouped statues; here the legends of mythological prowess served, by an allusive manner familiar to every Greek, to celebrate the glories of contemporary heroism; (*c*) and especially the dedication of statues by athletes who won victories in the great games. The importance of the last class in furthering direct study of nature can scarcely be over-estimated. Though only the victor who had won three times was allowed an *iconic* statue¹, that is, a portrait of himself, it is easy to see that in all cases an effort would be made to render the dedicated image, which was usually of bronze, an appropriate offering for an athlete, and so an impulse would be given to the production of statues idealising some aspect of the games, as quoit-throwing, and emphasising the physical attributes of the typical

¹ Plin. N. H. 34. 9.

athlete. Moreover, the Greek palaestra, where the athletes were accustomed to contend with naked bodies rubbed with oil for protection against the sun, formed the very best place of study for the sculptor. Then came the inevitable reaction upon religious art, and men used their new-found skill in further and further modifications of the types of the divine images, until they succeeded in investing them with all the beauty which they were capable of conceiving and realising.

§ 5. **Sculpture as a National Art.** This was the stage arrived at when the great outburst of Hellenic national life, in the fifth century before Christ, carried the art through many stages of progress in an extraordinarily rapid time, till it culminated in the wonderful creations of Pheidias. From this time, in Athens at all events, sculpture enters into every phase of public life, and becomes the instrument for expressing the sense of national greatness. Then more and more it is regarded as something which can lend refined enjoyment to men's ordinary life. Public places, such as gardens and market-places, are decorated in this way; animal as well as human life is made the object of imitation. But still, in the fifth century, the religious and national aims predominate.

§ 6. **Character-studies, Portraits, Historical Sculpture, Tombs.** With the decay of Greek national life in the fourth and following centuries, there comes a change in the motive of sculpture. Though mythological subjects are still the rule, they are treated as exhibitions of character, sentiment, or situation, rather than as awakening any religious ideas. This is still more true of Roman times, when sculpture depended very largely upon private patronage. Portrait-statuary, rare in earlier times, is in the later periods eagerly cultivated. After the rise of Alexander, great national undertakings must be looked for in the young neighbouring states struggling into power rather than in Greece itself. In one of these, Pergamus,

we meet with a new phenomenon, historical sculpture dealing with contemporary events.

Lastly, through all periods of Greek sculpture we find it employed to adorn the tombs of the dead.

§ 7. **Summary.** The monuments of Greek sculpture may be roughly classified as follows:—

- (1) Temple-images (*ἀγάλματα, βρέτη*).
- (2) Sculptures connected with Temples and similar buildings.
- (3) Commemorative or Dedicatory Statues and Groups of Statues (*ἀναθήματα*).
- (4) Athletic Statues and other Statues of Honour (*ἀνδριάντες*).
- (5) Tombs.
- (6) Portraits.
- (7) Historical Sculpture.
- (8) Character-studies from mythology.

§ 8. **Material.** It does not fall within the compass of this book to deal with the technique of sculpture; but some general acquaintance with the processes and materials employed is necessary for a right understanding of the history.

(1) The earliest material was wood². Wooden statues were draped with real drapery, such as the *peplos* which the Trojan matrons in Homer carry to the goddess Athena in the sixth Iliad³. They were doubtless painted also. The Greek term for these is *ξύανον* or *βρέτας*; the general name for a statue is *ἄγαλμα*.

(2) When parts of the figure were replaced in stone, such statues were called *akroliths* (*ἀκρόλιθα*)⁴. The parts so treated were usually the face, hands, and feet.

² The earliest stone statues were simple pillars, emblems of the presence of the god; thus Paus. 9. 27. 1 calls the earliest statue of Eros at Thespieae *ἀργὸς λίθος*, 'an unwrought stone;' and, 9. 38. 1, he says the Charites were worshipped at Orchomenus under the form of stones believed to have fallen from heaven. The Street-god Apollo (*Ἄγυιεύς*) was at first represented by a conical pillar, which is shown on early coins (Denkm. d. alt. Kunst 1, 2). These pillars suggested the 'Hermes,' a square pillar with a head, which was commonly adopted in later times for portrait statuary.

³ Il. vi. 286 foll.

⁴ Paus. 2. 4. 1, etc.

(3) Instead of stone, more costly material was sometimes used, as ivory; and the place of real drapery was supplied by sheets of gold-foil, enamelled in various ways. These were the χρυσελεφάντινα ἀγάλματα, of which more will be said in connexion with Pheidias.

(4) The potter's art early suggested the imitation of the human figure in clay. An immense number of terra-cotta *figurines*⁵ remains, owing in part to the practice of the Greeks of putting them in tombs. In modern sculpture both the marble and the bronze statue presuppose the clay model, and with the Greeks also such a model must necessarily have preceded casting in bronze. Whether the ancient workers in marble were ever so clever with their chisels as to be able to carve from drawings on the stone or from small models, as Michel Angelo is said to have done sometimes, is not certain; the first direct record of the invariable use of the model is in the case of Pasiteles, an Italian-Greek sculptor naturalised at Rome (about B.C. 60)⁶.

(5) Sculpture in marble is of two kinds.

(a) Statues which stand free, so that they are visible from all sides, are said to be sculptured 'in the round.' These must of course be finished on all sides, but sometimes when they were made to stand in a niche or against a wall, they were not so carefully finished at the back. Thus the Hermes of Praxiteles shows the marks of the chisel in the back.

(b) Slabs with figures upon them raised above the surface are called reliefs. If less than half the figure is detached, the relief is called low or flat relief; if half, half or middle relief; if more than half, high relief. In the last case, some parts may be made to stand quite free from the background by undercutting, as in some of the Parthenon metopes.

⁵ *Figurine*, a term borrowed from the French, properly meaning any small figure, is specially applied to small figures in burnt clay, such as have been recently found in large numbers in the tombs of Tanagra in Boeotia.

⁶ *Plin. N. H.* 35. 156, but this interpretation is not certain.

(6) Metal was in the earliest times hammered out in pieces, afterwards fastened together⁷ and built into a statue. When the casting of bronze was discovered, the first statues were cast solid—a method only possible on a small scale. Then, by an invention attributed to Theodorus and Rhoecus, early Samian bronze-workers, the method of casting hollow statues was found out⁸. The ancients brought the art of bronze-casting to wonderful perfection. By the employment of different alloys in different proportions, they were able to produce bronzes of different tones, and even to colour various parts of the same statue differently. The hollow of the eyes was almost always left blank, and afterwards filled in with precious stones or pastes. The largest ancient bronzes were for the most part discovered at Herculaneum. Small bronzes are much commoner, and being often copies of larger productions, are frequently a very useful guide to the proper restoration of mutilated statues⁹.

§ 9. **Difference between Bronze and Marble.** Since several ancient bronzes are now known to us only in the form of marble copies, it is well to note the two main points of difference. First, bronze statues are lighter, and consequently if a bronze is translated into marble, the new statue may require supports, with which the freer and bolder attitudes possible in bronze could dispense. Secondly, owing to the different way in which light is reflected from the two materials, the curves in bronze-work are more sharply defined, and a certain severity of outline is necessary, while soft modulations of surface and delicate gradations of curve must be reserved for marble. Hence a marble copy of a bronze original may often appear hard and formal.

⁷ σφυρήλατα, cp. Paus. 10. 16. 1, Aesch. S. c. T. 541 foll.

⁸ Paus. 8. 14. 8, and 10. 38. 5 ἐχάνευσαν οὗτοι πρῶτοι.

⁹ For the technical processes see Müller's Handbuch, § 306, with the notes and references.

§ 10. Literary Sources for the History of Sculpture.

Many of the ancient artists wrote treatises upon their art, such as Polycleitus, but these have all perished, together with the writings of professed art-historians. Our existing sources are very meagre; the following are the most noteworthy:—(a) The ‘Description of Greece’ by Pausanias, a traveller in the age of the Antonine emperors, belonging to the class called *periegetae* (*περιηγηται*, ‘ciceroni’). His office is simply to enumerate and describe, not to pass judgment, so that his work, apart from the interest of its matter, is dull. Though a careful enquirer, he shows little taste or feeling for art. (b) The descriptions of rhetoricians, such as Philostratus and Dion Chrysostom; more remarkable for florid word-painting than accuracy of description. With these may be classed notices of art in the versatile Lucian, who seldom alludes to a work of art without showing that he could really appreciate its merit, and whose judgments are correspondingly valuable; and the Epigrams in the *Anthologia Graeca*, the aim of which is rather to make a point than to give a satisfying picture. (c) Pliny the Elder devotes a considerable space of his *Natural History* to the subject of art. He supplies us with much valuable information about the technical processes of the ancient artists, and a sketch of the history, both of bronze and marble statuary¹⁰. (d) Incidental allusions are gleaned from the pages of historians and orators, especially in Roman times. Thus Cicero and Quintilian supply a good many acute and sensible judgments upon individual artists.

But after all these have been laboriously collected and painfully weighed, the main source of our information must be the actual remains which have been happily preserved to us¹¹.

¹⁰ Book 34, chapters 1–8, deals with bronze work; book 36, ch. 1–5, with marble. Book 35 contains an account of painting.

¹¹ All notices in ancient authors bearing upon the history of ancient art have been collected and arranged by Overbeck in his *Antike Schriftquellen*.

CHAPTER II.

THE BEGINNINGS AND FIRST DEVELOPMENT OF GREEK SCULPTURE.

§ 1. **Daedalus.** All the earliest traditions of Greek Art gather round the name of Daedalus. He is the half-mythical, half-historical father of Art. Just as the lack of a truly critical spirit led the Greeks to ascribe all early poems of an epic character to Homer, so they called the oldest and rudest statues the work of Daedalus. The phrase 'work of Daedalus' came to be generally synonymous with 'archaic work;' and so Cicero, seeking to characterise the earliest efforts of his countrymen at poetical composition, compares the Latin *Odyssey* of Livius Andronicus to a 'work of Daedalus¹.' In the writings of more discriminating authors, Daedalus assumes a distincter personality, and is spoken of as the first who made any advances in the art of sculpture, the first to separate the feet of statues and to open their eyes². For before this the legs had been made all of one piece, united through their whole length; with the arms similarly glued, as it were, to their sides. Early Egyptian statues are of this type, and in the whole range of Egyptian art we find statues of a type not far removed. For the art of sculpture in Egypt tended to become stereotyped, and a conventional canon of proportion prevailed through many centuries with no very great variations.

§ 2. **Derivation of Greek Sculpture.** In seeking to trace the origin of the Art of which the development was the peculiar glory of the Hellenic race, archaeologists have in the main held three broadly distinguished views. While one school

¹ Cic. Brut. 18. 71.

² SQ. 125 (Schol. Plat. Menon).

has insisted upon a purely native origin, another has ascribed the first impulse to Egyptian, a third to Assyrian influence. The evidence of Homer goes to show that all art in his time which rose above mere handicraft was of foreign extraction. He frequently alludes to 'Sidonian,' i.e. Phoenician, work; and modern researches have shown that, though Phoenicia developed scarcely any native art, Phoenician merchants carried the art of the Assyrians to the western world³. The resemblance between early Greek and Egyptian art is superficial rather than real, a resemblance due to the fact that the first representations of the human form made by any people bear a general family likeness. The essential difference is that Egyptian art is conventional and stereotyped; early Greek art, however simple and rude, bears in itself a promise of progress in the conscientious endeavour, always present, to make the thing as like the reality as possible. On the other hand, Assyrian art has several well-defined characteristics. It is decorative in style, as in the famous winged bulls, and the winged, eagle-headed goddesses; and by the juxtaposition of pairs of similar figures, it bears some analogy to the 'supporters' in heraldic devices, whence the term 'heraldic' has been applied to it. With the instances quoted, may be compared the earliest known piece of Greek sculpture on a large scale, the Lion Gate at Mycenae⁴. Assyrian art consists almost entirely of reliefs, treating of battle-scenes, hunting-scenes, and so on, in a decidedly realistic manner, especially where animals are concerned. The earliest Greek sculptures are also of the relief form.

§ 3. **Sculptors and Schools of Art during the Archaic Period before the Fifth Century.** The history of Greek sculpture depends upon a comparison of the literary record with the existing monuments. In the Archaic period, owing to the scantiness of the materials, the two are in a great measure dissociated; only in a few instances can a monument be con-

³ J. Harrison, *Introductory Studies in Greek Art*, ch. 3. See also ch. 2 for Chaldaeo-Assyrian sculpture.

⁴ *Overb.* i. 31, *Perr.* 25, *Murr.* i. 65, *Redf.* 108.

jecturally connected with the name of a sculptor recorded in our authorities. The names of these early sculptors, however, when taken in connexion with their birth-places and centres of activity, enable the historian to indicate in general outline the course of development of early art and its geographical limitations.

The first impulse was given in Eastern Hellas, the islands of Samos, Chios, and Naxos, and in the south, the island of Crete. Rhoecus⁵ and Theodorus, the first bronze-founders, were Samians, and their pupils carried their art westwards, to Delos and to Aegina, where rival bronze-foundries⁶ were established, and thence to the mainland, especially to Argos and Sicyon. To Sicyon also came the old Cretan masters who first gained renown for marble statuary⁷, Dipoenus and Scyllis; and Sicyon, Pliny says, was 'long the home of workshops for all kinds of metals.' Sparta, not now so backward as she afterwards showed herself, produced several sculptors, as Dontas and Dorycleidas, and thither came workers from the colonial West, as Clearchus from Rhegium. Athens, afterwards the acknowledged leader in the arts, was one of the last places to be reached by the new influences, probably not until the times of the Peisistratidae; Endoeus⁸ enjoys an almost mythical fame as a pupil of Daedalus; later the names of Aristocles and Aristion are attested by inscriptions.

§ 4. **Schools of Art about B.C. 500.** Towards the end of the sixth and during the early part of the fifth century, we find flourishing schools of art established in definite centres, of which the chief are Aegina, Argos, with the closely allied Sicyon, and Athens, and now the names begin to assume a more distinct personality. From Aegina came Callon and Onatas, whose style may be estimated from the Aeginetan marbles to be presently described; at Argos flourished Ageladas, master of Myron, Polycleitus, and Pheidias; Sicyon gave birth to Canachus, a copy of whose Milesian Apollo is known; Athens to Hegias (or

⁵ Also architect of the Temple of Hera in Samos, the largest known in the time of Herodotus (3. 66). Bupalos (Hor. Epod. 6. 13) lived in Naxos.

⁶ Plin. 34. 19.

⁷ Ib. 36. 9.

⁸ SQ. 348 foll.

Hegesias), Critias, and Nesiotes; a work of the last named will be presently considered.

§ 5. **Calamis and Pythagoras.** There are two sculptors who represent the final stage of Archaism before the new era inaugurated by Pheidias. The first of these is Calamis⁹, probably an Athenian. Cicero speaks of Calamis' works as 'hard indeed, yet less stiff than those of Canachus¹⁰.' He was especially famed for his horses, and made the riders for a group dedicated at Olympia by Hiero, for which Onatas made the chariot-group. Lucian speaks of the charming smile of his *Sôsandra*¹¹; and there exist copies of his Hermes carrying a ram (Kriophoros) at Tanagra¹².

Pythagoras of Rhegium¹³, born (according to an inscription recently found at Olympia) at Samos, was especially celebrated for his athlete statues, of which we may possibly possess an example (see below, § 12).

With these is sometimes classed Myron, on the ground that though contemporary with Pheidias, he adhered to the older traditions; but it seems better to relegate him to the following period.

§ 6. **Examples of the earliest Greek Sculpture.** It is not the purpose of this book to give many examples of the earliest archaic work, or to trace the progress of the art in its first struggles after form, but one or two celebrated specimens may be noted. In the British Museum¹⁴ may be seen casts of several slabs from a ruined temple at Selinus, near the western end of Sicily, now preserved at Palermo. The probable date of the earliest of these is about B.C. 600, and the best-known slab is that which shows Perseus cutting off the head of the Gorgon Medusa, while Athena stands by to aid him. The heads of the figures are enormously large and out of proportion

⁹ SQ. 508 foll.

¹⁰ Brut. 18. 70.

¹¹ SQ. 518.

¹² Overbeck, *Gesch. d. gr. Plastik*, i. pp. 218, 219. One of these copies is in Wilton House, the seat of Lord Pembroke.

¹³ SQ. 489 foll.

¹⁴ Room of Archaic Sculp., Nos. 16-19; General Guide, p. 44 (1882); *Overb. i. 80*, *Perr. 64*, *Murr. i. 100*, *Redf. 121*.

to the bodies, and they are seen in full face while the lower limbs are in profile. Great care is bestowed on the exact rendering of bones and muscles, with the result that they appear exaggerated. The countenance of Medusa, with her curious rows of curls and plaited locks falling down the shoulders, her projecting tusks and lolling tongue, as she kneels and grasps Pegasus in her arms, offers a curious study of grotesque ugliness. What did the sculptor mean by this laughable figure? He meant to inspire terror, not laughter. The early artist, in this rude manner, tries to express the horrible by making the object hideous, and easily falls into the grotesque. The gargoyles on our churches and the mediaeval representations of devils supply familiar illustrations of this tendency. The same Medusa-type appears stamped upon early Athenian coins, but in later art a quite different conception appears, and Medusa becomes the image of expiring voluptuous beauty¹⁵.

In the British Museum are also preserved several large seated figures and a couching lion, brought from the Sacred Way leading to the temple of Apollo at Branchidae, near Miletus¹⁶. These are simply large blocks of stone, hewn into general resemblance to the human figure, seated in a chair, while drapery is indicated by very shallow carving, hardly breaking the smooth surface of the whole mass. One of these seated figures has an inscription which shows that it is meant for a portrait: 'I am Chares, son of Cleisis, ruler of Teichiussa; an offering to Apollo.' From the characters of the inscription the date is assigned as B.C. 580-520, though the uncouth forms would seem to indicate an earlier date.

§ 7. **Early Statues commonly named 'Apollo.'** There exists a remarkable series of archaic statues, bearing a strong family likeness to one another, known—though without any sure foundation for the name—as statues of Apollo, with the

¹⁵ For the coins D. A. K. xvi. 68; the later type in the celebrated Munich mask, and on many gems.

¹⁶ Room of Archaic Sculpt., Nos. 2-13; General Guide, p. 44; Ov. i. 94, Perr. 76.

addition of the name of the place where they were found. One of these, which came from Athens, is in the British Museum¹⁷; another, from Thera, is at Athens; a third was found at Orchomenus, a fourth at Naxos; but the most perfectly preserved and the latest in point of artistic development came from Tenea, and is now to be seen at Munich. Their common characteristics are: an erect pillar-like attitude; the rectangular contour of the whole design, the legs being set near to one another and the arms held touching or nearly touching the sides; the division of the body into parts by geometrically regular lines; an almost exact correspondence between the right and left sides of the body; faulty proportions, especially a waist too narrow and a chest too broad and deep; yet everywhere evidence of anxious care to copy each part of the frame correctly; and lastly, an expressionless countenance, with formal ringlets, flat eyes near the plane of the cheeks and set obliquely, and a mouth with a set stiff smile. Most of these statues have suffered the loss of their legs, but some appear to have had the left leg put forward a little.

Much of their stiffness was a survival from a time when the material used was wood and not stone; indeed, wooden images of gods survived until quite a late period as objects of worship, and as such were called *βρέτη* (p. 5).

In the British Museum is likewise to be found another small statue¹⁸, rather more than three feet in height, called the 'Strangford' Apollo. This statue, although recalling in general aspect some of the characteristics of the more archaic figures, represents a very great advance upon them both in design and execution. Here we seem to reach the limit of the period when interest in Greek sculpture ceases to be purely archaeological and becomes artistic; a point when such a degree of skill had been attained by the artist, that his natural instinct for beauty of form had power to display itself, and he was able in a measure, how-

¹⁷ Room of Archaic Sculpt., No. 31; Murray, I. 108, pl. ii.

¹⁸ Archaic Room, No. 30; Murray, ib., Ov. I. 181. The Munich example (from Tenea), Ov. I. 91.

ever imperfectly, to realise his ideal. Only the head and trunk and part of the legs remain; the arms have been broken short off, and the legs are gone below the knee. Like the earlier statues it is symmetrical in design, and this symmetry appears now even greater from the loss of the arms, which may have been differently employed. It is plain they were not held close to the sides as in the earliest statues; probably they were bent at the elbow and held forward some object which would make the personality of the statue clearer, whether a god or hero or athlete was intended. The left leg is a little advanced; the knee very knotty; there is still a great sparseness in the waist and an over-development of chest. The face is round and regular, with rather high and prominent cheek-bones; formal curls still mark the contour of the brow, and there is a smile that is now almost pleasing; the eyes are rather more deeply sunk than formerly; the ears very carefully and indeed beautifully carved. What chiefly distinguishes the execution of this statue from the earlier statues mentioned, is that almost everywhere we find softer undulations of surface, instead of angles uniting the various planes of the bodily frame.

This is a genuine piece of archaic work, though it is not known where it was found; side by side with it may be put for comparison a small bronze statuette, also from the British Museum¹⁹, probably copied from a larger work. There is a deer in the outstretched right hand; and the figure may therefore have been copied from a statue of Apollo made by Canachus (about B.C. 480) for the Milesians, which bore a stag²⁰ in one hand and a bow in the other, as it is represented in miniature upon a Milesian coin. The attitude of the god is similar to that of the statue we have been describing. A fillet is bound round the head and below this the hair descends in ringlets. There is a fine head in the British Museum, from the Townley Gallery²¹,

¹⁹ Bronze Room, Case B; Guide to Bronze Room, p. 12.

²⁰ Plin. N. H. 34. 75, Apollo called *Philesius*. He says, however, that the stag was moveable by machinery, which does not suit the statuette.

²¹ Archaic Room, No. 33.

either belonging to the early period or a very excellent imitation, which shows this manner of dressing the hair very clearly.

§ 8. **Stêlē²² or Grave Monument of Aristion** (probable date about B.C. 500). This slab was discovered on the east coast of Attica, and is similar in character to certain fragments found at Athens itself, on the lines of the ancient walls, and so presumably built into them when they were hastily constructed, as Thucydides tells us, after the Persian invasion. This gives us the latest limit of date. It bears the inscription 'work of Aristokles' on its lower border, and 'of Aristion' on the plinth below. 'Aristion' is usually taken to be the name of the warrior sculptured, but it might be the name of Aristokles' father. On this slab we have a picture of an Athenian of the Marathonian days, or the times immediately preceding, as Aristophanes draws him for us; a man somewhat stiff and pedantic, not over-refined, but making up for all his faults by his inborn bravery and the simplicity of his life. He is here a warrior, clothed in close-fitting morion, linen tunic, cuirass, and greaves, and resting his left hand upon his spear. The armour is not carved throughout with equal skill. The greaves indeed follow the natural shape of the leg, but the cuirass is stiff, not yielding to the form, as a more skilled hand, such as that which carved the Vatican Augustus (p. 126), would have made it. The two feet are placed one before the other in a line, each with the sole flat on the ground—an attitude unnatural in reality; the legs are disproportionately long; the hands and feet also too long; the waist small in comparison with the breadth of chest and width across the hips. All these are marks of archaism constantly recurring in early sculpture, and a similar inference may be drawn from a study of the head and face, the evenly arranged and regular locks, the curls over the forehead, the

²² Stêlē (στήλη) is used of any sepulchral slab, though strictly it means one of the narrow upright kind, as in this example. When the slab was sculptured in the form of a niche or little temple, it was technically called ἡρώον. Ov. 1. 150, Murr. 1. 193, Perry 105, Redf. 122.

pointed beard drawn in parallel wavy lines, the oblong almond-shaped eye, seen nearly in its full length, not showing the eyeball in profile as in nature. In this slab subordinate effects and minor details were produced by colour; the ground of the relief was red, the shoulder-strap and other ornaments red also, the breast-plate and helmet blue. Many traces of these colours still remain. Memorial slabs (*stélai*) have been found in which the outline only was carved, and all the rest added in colour on the flat surface.

§ 9. **Copy of a group of the Tyrannicides, Harmodius and Aristogeiton**²³. In tracing the history of sculpture, the student has sometimes to rely upon copies of celebrated works made in Italy by late Greek sculptors for their Roman patrons. In such cases, all deductions must be regarded as more or less open to suspicion, since we cannot be sure how far the copies reproduce the true spirit or even the accurate form of the originals. A further difficulty arises when, as here, the copy itself, broken and incomplete when first found, has been carelessly restored by men ignorant of the true design.

Harmodius and Aristogeiton were the popular heroes of the Athenian democracy, and after the expulsion of the Peisistratidae in B.C. 510, statues of them were set up in the agora of Athens²⁴. The first group, the work of Antenor, was carried away by Xerxes and restored by Alexander after his conquest of Persia. In B.C. 476 a new group was set up, the work of Critius, with whom Nesiotes is constantly found associated, and it is in all probability of this second group that the present is a copy. The group stands in the National Museum at Naples; formerly the two figures were separated and taken for gladiators. The head of Aristogeiton (the figure on the left of the spectator), though antique and probably of the Macedonian period, does not properly belong to the body; the right leg of Harmodius,

²³ Ov. I. 119, 120 (conjectural restoration), Murr. I. 175, Perr. 108.

²⁴ Paus. I. 8. 5; Plin. N. H. 34. 70.

the left leg below the knee, and both arms, are also the work of the restorer. In the main the restorations are correct, except that the upraised arm of Harmodius should have been straighter, to form the apex of the group, and the sword-handle in the left hand is an obvious mistake. Across the body of Harmodius is a white streak in the marble, left by the bronze sword-belt which once adorned him. The two friends are here ideally presented as heroes, not in the dress of Athenian citizens, but in the natural beauty of the naked body, as a Meleager or a Heracles might have been presented. Harmodius strides forward with uplifted sword; his friend steps by his side with his sword-hand held back, and the left arm, wrapped in the *chlamys* or mantle, thrust forward ready to ward off any stroke aimed by a foe. In many reliefs representing battle-scenes, the *chlamys* may be seen used in this way, and the action had this advantage for the sculptor, that the folds of the garment form a more pleasing object for the eye than the even circle and continuous surface of a shield²⁵. It is a powerfully conceived and effective group, though the individual figures are wanting in grace; there is a rigidity in the pose which is evidence that the sculptor has not yet attained complete ease in dealing with his material. The head of Harmodius is covered with close spirally-formed ringlets; the planes of the face and of the surface of the body are united by hard angles rather than flowing curves. Later sculptors learnt how to round off these angles, and in the face they got more expression by deepening the hollows of the eye, giving breath, as it were, to the nostrils, and slightly parting the lips. A head characterised like that of Harmodius must in imagination be placed upon the neck of Aristogeiton. The originals were probably of bronze, and would not require the trunks which now support the marble. If these are removed, the united action of the group becomes clearer and the design more harmonious.

²⁵ So Bertram in Scott's *Rokeby*—

‘Round his left arm his mantle trussed
Received and foiled three lances’ thrust.’

§ 10. **Structure of a Greek Temple.** As the next example originally formed part of the ornament of a temple, a few words are necessary to explain what parts of the architecture were commonly ornamented with sculpture. The Greek temple was raised upon a basement, and the ground-plan was an oblong, with the ends of the long sides projecting a little thus, the interior, *naós* (*ναός*) or cella, being divided into two unequal portions. The projecting ends were finished off as pilasters with capitals, two columns placed between them, and a corresponding row of columns placed in front, forming a porch. This kind of temple was called *amphiprostyle*²⁶. If, as in all large temples, the colonnade was carried completely round, the temple was called *peripteral*²⁷.

Its elevation, seen from the outside, consisted of three parts, columns, entablature, and roof. The columns support the architrave, that is, the horizontal stone courses which span the space from pillar to pillar; above the architrave is the frieze, above the frieze the cornice. Architrave, frieze, and cornice are together called the entablature. On the long sides of a temple the sloping roof rises above the cornice, which is in fact its termination. The terminating lines of the roof form gables at each end; such gable-ends are called pediments (Latin *fastigium*, Greek *alēōs* or *alēōma*), and the triangular recess between the horizontal cornice and the terminating lines of the roof, technically called the *lympanum* or drum, was often filled with a sculptured group, called a pedimental composition. The next place upon which sculpture might be employed was the frieze (called by the Greeks *ζωφόρος* or *ζωοφόρος*). In temples of the Ionic order this was a continuous flat surface over the architrave, which might have on it sculptures in relief; in the earlier Doric temple there was not this continuous surface but an alternation of *triglyph* and *metope*. The triglyph was

²⁶ As the temple of Nikê Apteros, Smith's Greece, p. 216.

²⁷ As the Parthenon, the Theseum, etc.

originally a stone slab serving to cover the ends of the cross-rafters, which lay upon the architrave and carried the roof; its name is derived from the three grooves or flutings which ornamented it. As therefore the triglyphs occurred at regular intervals along the architrave, there was an open space between each one and the next following, which was filled by a stone slab called a metope²⁸. These metopes could be ornamented by painting or sculpture; they originally did not serve any architectural purpose, but that of ornament. In the Parthenon there was the further addition of a frieze placed upon the outside of the wall of the cella or *naós*, and visible to the spectator standing in the colonnade; this ran round the enclosing wall of the building like a band. A Doric temple might also have a system of columns of the Ionic order in the interior, which would have a continuous frieze above them; this was the case with the temple of Apollo at Bassae near Phigalia.

It will be noticed that, as a guiding principle, the portions of the building which the tact of the Greeks selected for ornamentation were vacant spaces and not carrying parts. This is strictly true with regard to the pediments and the metopes, and the principle is the same with regard to the continuous frieze, which in the Ionic system was substituted for alternating triglyph and metope. There are, however, instances of departure from this principle; in Lycian temples the architrave sometimes bears sculptured ornament; in the temple of Artemis at Ephesus, the lowest drums of the columns were sculptured; in a porch of the Erechtheum female figures (Caryatids) were substituted for columns. It is important, however, to notice the general principle, which shows that the choice of parts to be ornamented was not made at random.

§ 11. **The Aeginetan Marbles**²⁹. The remains of these

²⁸ In Greek *μερόμη*, (Lat. *intertignium*), properly 'alternate space between the holes for the beam-ends (*δραί*).'

²⁹ *Or.* I. 128; *Murr.* I. 152, pl. vii.; *Perr.* 124; *Redf.* 127.

sculptures were discovered early in the present century by a party of Danish, English, and German archaeologists; and were subsequently bought by the King of Bavaria and taken to Munich, where they were restored under the direction of the Danish sculptor, Thorwaldsen. The figures of the western pediment were the best preserved, and from their remains Thorwaldsen was able to reconstruct an entire group. Of the eastern pediment separate figures have been restored, but the existing statues do not form an entire group. The subjects of the two groups were very similar; in each Athena forms the centre, and warriors contending over the body of a wounded man the main subject. Each composition is supposed to have contained the same number of figures, and these in the same order of arrangement, though differing in detail. Each is a scene from the legend of Troy, which was twice captured; in the eastern composition the *protagonists* are thought to be Heracles and Laomedon, in the western Ajax and Hector. The sculptures of the eastern pediment are superior in point of artistic merit, but our description will be confined to the more complete group, that of the western pediment. Casts of all the sculptures are to be seen in the British Museum, arranged in pedimental form. There has been much discussion about the proper arrangement of the statues, and recent archaeologists, from a close examination of the existing fragments, have thought that the number of figures in each pediment was considerably greater than Thorwaldsen supposed. The following description follows the old arrangement and the commonly received interpretation. The fallen warrior is Patroclus, over whose body stands Athena as arbitress of the fight, forming the central figure of the group; on either side are Ajax, son of Telamon, on the left (of the spectator), and Hector, on the right, levelling their spears; behind Ajax is Teucer, the skilled archer; behind Hector an archer in a Phrygian cap, perhaps Paris. Next to the archers are kneeling spearmen, armed with shield and spear (a dagger was erroneously placed in the

hand of one by the restorer); the corners are occupied by wounded men lying upon the ground. By placing upright figures in the centre, kneeling figures next to them, and recumbent figures in the angles, the artist has obtained the diminution of height necessitated by the form of the pediment. The motive of the kneeling spearmen, however, remains a matter of doubt, and it is an ingenious suggestion that they should be placed in front of, not behind, the archers; they would then be imagined as protecting the archers who shoot their arrows from behind the shelter thus afforded, just as Teucer in the *Iliad* shoots his arrows from behind the shield of Ajax (*Il.* 8. 267 foll.). This arrangement would also produce a more harmonious flow of line, and a wave-like progression from the corners to the apex. Another suggestion, adopted by all archaeologists and reproduced in most sketches, is that the figure of a stooping man without armour, belonging to the east pediment, should also be introduced in the west, coming out from behind Hector as if to lay hold of the fallen hero. He will thus serve to balance the recumbent Patroclus, and there will be the same number of figures on either side of Athena. It is evident that the designer of the group sought after exact parallelism and correspondence in the two sides of his group; each figure must have its antitype, in similar attitude. This is a trait which marks the younger stages of art, striving after unity at the expense of variety. The tendency comes out in details, as in the studied arrangement of Athena's dress, where line corresponds with line and fold with fold. The goddess wears a *peplos* reaching to the feet, with a lappet hanging over the girdle; over her shoulders is thrown the aegis, on which doubtless a Gorgon's head was painted; she wears a helmet and carries shield and spear; an end of her robe hanging from the right arm serves to balance the shield. Her left foot is oddly turned sideways, though the figure is presented in full face; it has been supposed that this was to make room for the wounded man, but possibly it is a survival from less

skilful art of an attitude perhaps believed to have some sacred signification. The warriors, with the exception of the archers, who wear cuirasses, have only helmet, spear, and shield. Many small holes drilled in the marble indicate that bronze ornaments of some kind were attached to the figures, but it is improbable that they were clothed completely in armour. In this matter the Greek artist sacrificed historical to artistic truth. The natural body, with its capacity for exhibiting life and movement, undisguised by stiff armour, seemed to him most worthy to be sculptured, and he indicated by attributes that which in its completeness would have hampered his artistic design; thus helmet and shield do duty for the entire armour. The hair of the warriors is dressed in the ancient manner, with formal curls round the forehead. The figures themselves are under life-size, and their proportions exhibit bodies somewhat short in relation to the length of leg; the limbs are remarkably fine, and all the muscular development is studied with the most scrupulous care; nothing is toned down or rounded off; all is sharply delineated with an evident desire for the utmost degree of attainable truthfulness in anatomical details. In the pose, both of the standing and recumbent men, there is a kind of angularity which corresponds with the want of softness in the bodily forms. The lack of repose exhibited by much early Greek art is due to a preference for subjects such as battle-scenes and others requiring violent action, and is moreover characteristic of the Peloponnesian schools of sculpture, which, in opposition to the Attic schools, aimed at vigorous realism more than ideal grace. The faces of these sculptured heroes all present the same fixed type of expression, the same rigid smile; whether it is the face of the armed warrior whose frame is a model of animated gesture and muscular power, or that of the wounded man whose relaxed limbs betoken the febleness with which he tries to support himself as he draws the arrow from his breast. The faces are, in fact, conventional representations, types developed from constant repetition in the

sculptor's studio, not due to independent study of nature. The smile is not meant as an indication of pleasurable feeling; it is an attempt to give some kind of animated look which should convey the impression of life. When the Greeks had first learnt to give a natural form to the body, the outward framework, they gradually came to render with greater truth those features by which the inward spirit is revealed. It is a long stride from these expressionless countenances to the benevolence written on the face of the Zeus of Otricoli, the kind playfulness on that of the Praxitelean Hermes, or the magnificent anger of the Apollo Belvidere. The history of Christian art shows us the reverse process. The Prior who in Mr. Browning's poem *Fra Lippo Lippi* says to the painter,—

‘Your business is to paint the souls of men’

‘Give us no more of body than shows soul’

is a faithful representative of the ideas of his time, which held the body cheap in comparison with that which is the truest reflex of the soul, the face. The Greek tried to fuse into an organised whole the ‘soul which limbs betoken,’ and the ‘limbs which soul informs’³⁰.

These marbles are thought to have been sculptured after B. C. 480, the year of the battle of Salamis, and probably in commemoration of the heroism then displayed by the Aeginetans. Herodotus tells us that just before the battle of Salamis the Greek army sent for the heroes Telamon and Ajax to help them in the contest, as Theseus had helped the Athenians at Marathon. The Aeginetans won the first prize for valour in that memorable sea-fight, and the mythical exploits of the children of their forefather Aeacus against the barbarian symbolised in a modest manner their own achievements against the same foe. Such a mode of commemoration was more suited to the spirit of the age than the treatment of contemporaneous subjects; the ‘*Persae*’ of Aeschylus and the Parthenon frieze are exceptional, and both of these are removed as far as possible from the sphere of ordinary life by their ideal handling.

³⁰ Browning, ‘Old Pictures in Florence,’ xi.

Aegina boasted several eminent sculptors during the early part of the fifth century, as Callon, Onatas, and Glaucias³¹, of whom the most famous was Onatas; and to him or to his school archaeologists have proposed to assign the sculptures under consideration.

§ 12. **Statue called Apollo** ('Choiseul-Gouffier³²'). In the Early Hellenic Room in the British Museum there stands a statue, commonly called 'Apollo,' obtained from the collection of Count Choiseul-Gouffier, formerly French ambassador at the Porte, which may be fitly placed at the end of this chapter, as representing the culmination of pre-Pheidian art. The statue is that of a young man, entirely nude, standing still in a restful attitude. Most early statues of single figures in attitudes of rest have the weight poised equally on both legs; this produces an almost exact correspondence on each side of the body. To advance one leg a little was an obvious improvement; here a further step is reached. The weight is thrown upon the right leg, and while this consequently curves outwards, the body bends slightly the opposite way, and a pleasant variety in the lines of the figure is the result. The waist is spare; the chest very strongly developed and powerfully thrown forward. It may be that this is a survival of the tendency of early sculptors to exaggerate contrasts, to make what is broad too broad, what is narrow too narrow. The arms, the extremities of which are broken, hang downward; the left bends slightly, and certainly held some object, of which there is an indication on the left leg. On the shoulder and upper arms are strongly marked veins. The legs are long and sinewy (they have been partially restored); the feet are also long, as in Aristion's Stêlê. The head, set very erect upon the finely developed neck and throat, is small in proportion, and the face has a melancholy expression, due to the downward turn of the corners of the mouth and the drooping

³¹ SQ. 416-438.

³² Murr. I. 190, pl. viii. (with the replica at Athens), Redf. 194, *Journal of Hellenic Soc.* vol. i.

eyelids. A similar expression recurs frequently on the frieze of the Parthenon; it may be that here again no particular effect of pleasure or pain was exactly intended, but an expression of some kind, some feeling of life and mobility. The hair is tied in a band made by a plait of hair drawn across the top of the forehead; below this cincture fall ringlets artistically disposed, reminding the beholder of the days when the Greeks, even in war, as at Thermopylae, took pride in their long and carefully combed hair³³.

A sense of severe dignity pervades this figure, and in spite of faults of proportion and a want of suppleness and grace in the attitude, it is strikingly suggestive of reserved power in rest. To those in whose eyes strength forms a considerable element in beauty, it will always be a pleasing object of contemplation. Since several copies of the statue exist (especially one at Athens, erroneously called 'Apollo on the Omphalos'), the design probably goes back to a celebrated original. It has been argued with great originality and acuteness and much appearance of probability, that the type is that of an athlete and not of an Apollo; and a further attempt has been made to connect it with the name of Pythagoras of Rhegium, a celebrated sculptor of athlete statues, who flourished about the middle of the fifth century B.C., being an elder contemporary of Myron, the Attic sculptor. Besides the peculiar muscular development of the chest and arms, certainly suitable to a boxer or a wrestler, there is a ridge in the tree-trunk serving as a support, which is taken for an indication of the strap with which the pugilist bound on his *cestus*. But the features are purely ideal, and are cast in heroic mould; nor can they be held to typify the somewhat brutal profession of the regular Greek athlete. Only one actual portrait of a Greek boxer remains to us, a bronze head found at Olympia, and this is utterly unlike the Greek ideal of beauty³⁴.

³³ There is a similar head in the British Museum, close by the statue; it was found at Cyrene.

³⁴ See the paper by Dr. C. Waldstein in the *Journal of the Hellenic Society*, vol. i. The Olympian bronze is given by Murray, 2. 344.

CHAPTER III.

THE EPOCH OF PHEIDIAS AND THE PARTHENON.

§ 1. **Introduction.** The monuments described at the end of the last chapter mark the close of one period and the beginning of a new. After a comparatively slow development up to this point, the art of sculpture suddenly blossoms into a most exuberant life. This extremely rapid progress of the art was only one phase of a general forward movement which affected nearly every branch of human knowledge and activity, and was felt throughout nearly all the Hellenic world; a movement which radiated from Athens as its centre, and to which the first impulse was given by the successes gained in the national contest with Persia. Politics, oratory, dramatic and historical composition, scientific knowledge, and philosophy were pursued with the utmost vigour, as well as the arts of architecture, sculpture, and painting, and a high level in every branch was reached with a rapidity of intellectual and technical development which has few parallels in the world's history. The fifth century also witnessed the rise of Athens to a height of power never attained by any other purely Hellenic state. During this period she so far outstripped other Greek states in literary and artistic culture, that she became, according to the proud boast of Pericles, 'the school of Greece¹.' The results of this second and nobler empire which she established over men's minds were more permanent than the brief dominion she exercised over their lives and liberties. The historical importance of Athens as a first-rate power practically ceases after B.C. 404, although some

¹ Thuc. 2. 41.

shadow of her former greatness did occasionally return. But her importance as leader in all branches of literary and artistic activity remained for at least another century. Yet though the acknowledged leader, she was not the sole mother of artists. Other states during the fifth century possessed schools of art, the influence of which lasted on through the fourth. The most important of these had its centre in Argos.

The middle and close of the fifth century form the period when the influence of Pheidias made itself widely felt, and the whole may be named the Pheidian epoch, though the great artist himself died about B.C. 432. A great many names of contemporary sculptors are known; those whose works will be touched upon in the following pages are Alcamenes, pupil of Pheidias; Myron, a native of Eleutherae in Boeotia, the head of a contemporary Attic school; Polycleitus, chief of the Argive school; and Paeonius, of Mendê in Thrace.

§ 2. **Remarks on the Chief Sculptures of the Period.**

The remains of this period are very numerous, far more so than those of the following century, and of first-rate importance for determining the high point of artistic excellence to which Greece then attained. Yet in truth hardly a vestige remains of the master-works recorded and extolled above all others by contemporary and subsequent writers. The greater part of the sculptures we now possess were regarded by the ancients as accessories, not belonging to the highest class of art; and they are only casually and cursorily mentioned by professed antiquaries like Pausanias. They consist mainly of the external decorations of temples, the pedimental sculptures and the friezes. The temple-images themselves, upon which the sculptors of that age lavished all the resources of their skill, and which excited the admiration of their own and succeeding ages, have perished. The great works which they set up in temples or public places to commemorate great events have likewise perished; only here and there do we possess in Roman copies of renowned originals

some standard by which to measure the worth of what has disappeared. The reason for this lies partly in the material used. Groups of honour and independent statues of ornamental design were most frequently of bronze, and therefore broken up or melted down during the ages of barbarism, when men thought more of the use of material than its artistic value. For temple-images other methods were employed, characteristic of the period, though not confined to it exclusively². They were often *chryselephantine*, that is, made of gold and ivory overlaid upon wood. We have seen that the earliest figures of the gods were of wood; the first modification of these was the addition of stone in parts where flesh was visible. Thus arose what was called *akroliths*, images in which the face, arms, and feet were of marble, while the rest of the body was of wood, either coloured in imitation of drapery, or adorned with actual drapery. Later they were sometimes overlaid with gold-foil, and were of a colossal size. The next step was to substitute ivory for marble in the white parts. The ivory was of course not solid, but overlaid in thin plates upon a core of wood, much as the skin covers the human body. The drapery was of gold-foil, also overlaid on a core of wood, and often enamelled. It is evident that the construction of these figures on a large scale must have called for great technical skill in the workmanship. In fact the union of high imaginative power, which could conceive colossal figures or plan out a broadly designed scheme of ornamentation, with minute technical skill in the manipulation of delicate material, such as gold and ivory, is a striking characteristic of the age of Pheidias. Our only knowledge of these statues is derived from description. Even if there had been no plunderers to covet the rich adorn-

² Paus. 5. 17. 1 describes a series of very archaic statues in the Heraeum of Olympia, by Dorycleidas and others, which, he says, were *chryselephantine*. Canachus (Paus. 2. 10. 4) made a *chryselephantine* Aphrodite for her temple at Sicyon. Coming to later times, we find Leochares (Paus. 5. 20. 9) making *chryselephantine* portrait-statues of the family of Alexander, and mention is made of the art as late as Hadrian's time, indicating a Roman revival.

ment, the materials of the frame-work were such as could not resist the ravages of time.

But sculptures employed in the decoration of temples were preserved, both because their position put them out of reach, and because of their less valuable and more durable material.

§ 3. **Chief Existing Remains of the Middle and End of the Fifth Century.** (*a*) The grandest of all these temple-sculptures are those from the Parthenon, the best of which are preserved in the British Museum, most of the rest at Athens, while there are also some scattered fragments in various continental galleries.

(*b*) Remains of the Erechtheum.

(*c*) Remains of the temple of Nikê Apteros (Wingless Victory). Four slabs of the frieze are in the British Museum; the other remains are at Athens, some still *in situ* on the temple.

(*d*) Remains of the Theseum (temple of Theseus) still in their places.

There are casts in the British Museum of all the most important sculptures still at Athens.

(*e*) From Bassae, close to Phigalia, a town in the hill-country of Arcadia, comes the frieze of the cella of a temple of Apollo *Epikourios* (the 'Helper'), which is, next to the Theseum, the best-preserved of all Greek temples; the sculptures are now in the British Museum.

(*f*) At Olympia the remains of the sculptures of the temple of Olympian Zeus were recovered in the course of the recent German explorations (1875-1881); a few remains, previously discovered by a French exploring expedition in 1829, are in the Louvre.

It cannot be certainly proved that any of the great sculptors of the time were actually engaged upon the temple-sculptures which remain. An inscription is preserved, recording the names of the workmen who carved the frieze of the Erechtheum, and they appear to have been handicraftsmen. The Olympian pediments are assigned by Pausanias to two sculptors *of note*, Alcamenes the Athenian and Paenonius of Mendê; but

most archaeologists infer, from the inferior quality of the sculptures, that they furnished the designs only and left the execution to assistants. On the other hand, the Parthenon marbles contain examples of the very highest excellence of the sculptor's art, both in grandeur of conception and finish of execution; and this fact, coupled with the historically attested co-operation of Pheidias with Pericles in the monumental decoration of the Acropolis, leads to the natural and indeed inevitable inference that in them we possess direct products of the school of the greatest sculptor of antiquity; if he did not labour at them with his own hands, the compositions must have been designed by him, and his must have been the influence which trained the hands of his fellow-workers to carry out his conceptions, with the same mastery over material which marked his own work.

(g) One statue remains to be mentioned, which can be assigned to a known sculptor. It is the winged figure of Victory which Paeonius of Mendê made for the Messenians of Naupactus; the pedestal on which it stood, with its inscription, was found by the German excavators in 1876³, on the spot where Pausanias saw and described it centuries before, and the statue itself lay near.

§ 4. **Copies and Works of uncertain origin.** There are also extant copies of some of the most celebrated statues executed during this time. The most important of these are (i) the Discobolos or Quoit-Thrower of Myron (Vatican, British Museum, etc.); (ii) the Marsyas of the same sculptor (Lateran, bronze in British Museum); (iii) the Doryphorus or Spear-bearer (Naples and elsewhere); (iv) the Anadoumenos or Fillet-binder of Polycleitus (British Museum, etc.); and conjecturally (v) the Pentathlos Enkrinomenos of Alcamenes. A celebrated Amazon (vi) has been referred sometimes to Polycleitus, sometimes to Pheidias (Rome, Capitol and Vatican, Berlin, etc.). Certain original bas-reliefs, as (vii) the relief of Demeter and Persephonê, found at Eleusis (Athens), and some grave-monu-

³ Boetticher, *Olympia*, p. 320.

ments (viii) are assigned to this period from their style; a very beautiful relief (ix) representing the parting of Orpheus and Eurydicê (Naples, Rome, Louvre) is likewise judged to be a copy of a work of this age from its style.

§ 5. **Pheidias. Statue of Olympian Zeus. Statues of Athena.** Before approaching the Parthenon Sculptures, which better than any others illustrate the grandeur and versatility of the sculptors of the Pheidian epoch, some account of Pheidias himself and the lost statues which are so often alluded to by ancient writers will not be out of place.

What is known about his life⁴ may be summed up in few words. He was born somewhere near the beginning of the fifth century B.C., and is said to have first devoted his attention to painting⁵. In any case his greatness as a designer shows that he must have been a powerful draughtsman. His first master in sculpture was Hegias⁶; next we find him studying under Ageladas⁷, an Argive sculptor. His work as an independent master divides itself into two periods; the first coincides with the time of the supremacy of Cimon, son of Miltiades; the second embraces the period when Pericles became the leader of the Athenian people, and Pheidias became the director of those magnificent schemes for the adornment of Athens⁸, which the artistic judgment of Pericles conceived as necessary to justify her position as the recognised mistress of Greece in the arts. During the first period his chief works were a bronze group at Delphi to commemorate the victory of Marathon, and a bronze statue of Athena on the Acropolis, commonly known as Athena Promachos. During the second he produced his Athena Parthenos, the temple-image of the Parthenon;

⁴ SQ. 618 foll.

⁵ Plin. N. H. 34. 54.

⁶ Hegias was contemporary with Critius and Nesiotes (see *supra*, p. 17), Plin. N. H. 34-49. He seems to be the same as Hegesias, who appears in the same connexion. The only authority for the statement in the text is a conjecturally restored passage in Dion Chrysostom (SQ. 455).

⁷ Also called Geladas, SQ. 393, 398.

⁸ Plut. Pericl. 12, 13.

besides superintending the sculpturesque decorations of the Parthenon, and possibly of other temples; several statues of minor importance, mostly known to us by literary record only; and finally his world-famous Zeus Olympius at Olympia for the Eleans. About his death there were two discordant traditions, both equally sad. One was that the enemies of Pericles, fearing to strike a direct blow at the great statesman, and seeking to injure him by ruining his ministers, accused Pheidias of misappropriation of the gold given him for the statue of Athena. Although the gold drapery of Athena was so made that it could be taken off and weighed, so that the charge could be easily rebutted, they trumped up other charges, accusing him of putting his own and Pericles' likeness upon the relief of Athena's shield, so that he was thrown into prison and died. This is Plutarch's account⁹. The other story said that he fled from Athens in consequence of these charges, went to Elis, where he made the Zeus for the Eleans, was there charged again with peculation, and died a violent death¹⁰.

Pheidias enjoyed the highest renown of all the sculptors of the ancient world, and the consenting testimony of his own and subsequent generations fixed upon the Zeus which he wrought for the temple of that god at Olympia in Elis as his masterpiece, the work in which he most truly incorporated in human form the noblest conception of the divine image. Cicero¹¹ says of this statue, that 'the master, when he modelled his Jupiter or his Minerva, had not before his eyes any individual, whose likeness he might copy, but there existed in his own mind a rare pattern of beauty, on which he gazed fixedly, as he guided his art and hand according to its likeness.' In other words, Pheidias was pre-eminent above all other ancient sculptors as a creator of ideal forms¹². The Greek conceived of his gods as men, and as they were presented to his imagina-

⁹ Pericl. 31.

¹⁰ Schol. Arist. Pax, 605.

¹¹ Cic. Orator, 2-8.

¹² On the *ideality* of Greek Sculpture see J. Harrison, *Studies in Greek Art*, ch. v.

tion in old and treasured legends, especially in the poems of Homer. They had the attributes and passions of men, and in the legends they were often depicted as descending to the ordinary human level in their actions, often indeed below it; but in their essence they were thought of as possessing the qualities of the noblest among men in perfect development. Each god had special characteristics,—some local, that is, attributed to him by a particular cult in a particular place, some national, recognised by all the Hellenes. The artist's first aim was to present these qualities and characteristics in visible shape so that the sight of his statue would lead the spectator to associate them with the particular form conceived by him. He had certain traditions to guide him, which he could not wholly depart from, and his highest aim was realised if the conception of the god expressed by him appealed to the national consciousness, if he compelled all his countrymen, not merely the men of his own city, to recognise his presentation of this or that divinity in bodily form as the truest possible, so that, having once seen his, they could conceive no other, but his alone. This is what Pheidias did with his Zeus at Elis and his Athena Parthenos at Athens. These statues became the types to which subsequent artists had to conform in general outline, because all Hellenes confessed that no truer embodiments of their thoughts about Zeus and Athena could anywhere be found.

The praises of the Zeus are hymned by many ancient writers, though their testimony does not help us much to reconstruct the actual image. Thus Livy¹³ tells us that the Roman general Aemilius Paullus declared, as he looked upon the figure, that he seemed to see Jove in visible presence. The Greek rhetorician, Dion Chrysostom (died A.D. 117), says, 'if there were a man utterly overburdened in spirit, who had endured many misfortunes and pains in his lifetime, and could not enjoy sweet sleep, even he, methinks, as he stood before this statue, would forget all the painful things human life is

¹³ Liv. 45. 28.

destined to undergo ; so hast thou, Pheidias, in very truth discovered and wrought a wonder

“ Which so cures heart-ache and the inward stings
That men forget all sorrows wherein they pine¹⁴ ; ”

such a light and such grace flow from thy work.’

Our means for reconstructing the statue are lamentably meagre. It was, as well as the Athena, of gold and ivory, and after it had undergone repair at the hands of Damophon¹⁵ (circ. B.C. 370), it seems to have remained substantially uninjured until in A.D. 407, under the Emperor Theodosius, the temple was burnt and the Olympian games put an end to. Pausanias describes the attitude¹⁶ of the figure and gives a catalogue of the accessory decorations. Hence we learn that Zeus was seated on a throne ; a wreath of olive leaves was about his head ; his right hand supported a Victory, also chryselephantine ; his left held an inlaid sceptre, with an eagle on the top. The sandals and robe were of gold, and the robe was enamelled with lilies and figures of animals. The high back of the throne, its legs, the cross-bars, and the footstool of Zeus, were all adorned in various ways, as with Victories, lions, sphinxes, and with various subjects in relief, as Theseus and the Amazons, the Graces and Hours, Apollo and Artemis slaying the children of Niobe. On the basement below was a notable relief which, in some respects, recalls the east pediment of the Parthenon ; Hêlios, the Sun-God, at one end was stepping into his chariot, Selênê, the Moon-Goddess, with her chariot was at the other ; between these were Zeus and various gods, especially Eros receiving Aphrodite as she rises from the sea. The balustrade which surrounded the whole was painted by Panaetius, brother of Pheidias.

An Elean coin, struck in Hadrian’s time, supplies us with a

¹⁴ *Odys.* 4. 221, Worsley’s Trans. The line of the original refers to the soothing draught prepared by Helen.

¹⁵ *Paus.* 4. 31. 6.

¹⁶ *Id.* 5. 11. 1 foll.

general notion of the attitude¹⁷. Another, of the same date, is commonly, though not universally, held to be a copy of the head in profile. But considerable doubt attaches to this attribution. Certainly the Romans frequently copied statues on their coins, while the Greek die-sinker, being an original artist, preferred the free exercise of his own fancy. Accordingly it seems more natural to look for the type of the Pheidian Zeus in Roman coins than in Elean coins of the period of Greek independence. The type exhibited on the coin in question is slightly archaic. In two essential characteristics it differs from the type of the head of Zeus which appears on most Greek coins of the fourth century B.C., and in the most celebrated extant busts, which are as a rule of a comparatively late date of execution (as the 'Otricoli' bust, p. 114). The hair lies smooth, and is not raised up from the forehead in wavy masses; and the countenance expresses serene benevolence rather than the strength of majesty. In both these points it seems to run counter to the tradition¹⁸ that Pheidias took the suggestion of his ideal of Zeus from the lines of Homer—'he spoke and nodded assent with his dark eyebrows, and the ambrosial locks of the king streamed from his immortal head, and he made mighty Olympus tremble'¹⁹.

The finest of extant busts, of the second type, is that in the Vatican, called the 'Otricoli' bust. It was found at Otricoli at the end of last century. Another head, of a similar type, is in the British Museum, commonly called 'Asclepius'; it is of Greek workmanship, and was found in Melos²⁰. Of sitting statues, the most famous is the 'Verospi' statue in the Vatican.

¹⁷ For this coin and the others mentioned, the autotypes in Mr. Percy Gardner's *Types of Greek Coins*, plate xv, should be consulted in preference to any drawings, which are often misleading.

¹⁸ Strabo 8, p. 353; SQ. 698.

¹⁹ Iliad i. 528:—

ἦ, καὶ κυανέησιν ἐπ' ὀφρύσι νεύσε κρονίαν
ἀμβρόσιαι δ' ἄρα χαῖται ἐπερρώσαντο ἄνακτος
κρατὺς ἀπ' ἀθανάτοιο μέγαν δ' ἐλέλιξεν Ὀλυμπον.

²⁰ See p. 104.

A free Roman variation of the Pheidian type, it is interesting to artists as the type followed by Flaxman in his Homeric outlines. A remarkable bronze statuette²¹ in the British Museum, found in Hungary, shows Zeus seated crowned with a laurel wreath, and holding a thunderbolt and a sceptre.

Although the Zeus was held to be the greatest work of Pheidias, he won scarcely less renown by the statues which he had previously made for his own city, Athens. Of these the chief were a bronze Athena, called in later authors Athena Promachos, which stood on a column on the Acropolis, in the open space between the Propylaea, the Erechtheum, and the Parthenon; and the Athena Parthenos, of gold and ivory, which was in the eastern chamber of the cella of the Parthenon itself. A rough notion of the first, towering above the Parthenon roof, may be gathered from rude representations on some late Athenian coins²². Together with its pedestal it must have been over sixty feet high, but the legend that the crest of the helmet and the point of the spear could be seen by mariners rounding Cape Sunium seems apocryphal. The statue was erected out of the spoils of Marathon, and was a thank-offering for that victory²³.

Of the statue inside the Parthenon we learn from Thucydides²⁴ that its gold drapery could be taken off, and counted, therefore, as a reserve fund in case of necessity. The most accurate notion of the pose is given by a reduced copy of the statue recently discovered at Athens. The goddess stood straight upright with her left hand resting upon her shield, in the hollow of which was coiled Erichthonios, the guardian serpent of the Acropolis. On the interior surface of the shield was carved in relief the battle of the Gods and Giants; on the exterior, round the Gorgoneion, or head of Medusa, the battle with the Amazons²⁵.

²¹ Guide to Bronze Room, Case E, 5. Rayet, *livr.* vi, No. x.

²² See Smith's *History of Greece*, p. 396.

²³ *SQ.* 637 foll.

²⁴ *Thuc.* 2. 13.

²⁵ A fragment of a copy of this shield is in the Brit. Mus. (*Guide to Sculp. of Parth.* i. p. 104).

was represented, and here it was that Pheidias was said to have inserted his own likeness as 'an old bald-headed man.' These reliefs are not shown in the copy. Athena's extended right hand rested, as it appears in the copy, on a column, to support the Nikê which stood upon it, and which was said to be itself of life size. On her breast was the aegis, with the Gorgoneion; on her helmet was a sphinx, flanked by griffins. Her robe was a sleeveless *chiton* (called *talarië* because reaching to the feet) with a *diploidion* or lappet descending from the shoulders. A girdle surrounds the waist. The massive folds of the robe descend from the girdle in straight lines, except on the right side, where the ends fall in broad zig-zags (*πτέρυγες*). Planned as it was on a great scale, with due allowance for perspective and total effect, it is not surprising that when reduced the figure should seem heavy.

NOTE.—Of the recently found copy of the Athena Parthenos, Mr. C. T. Newton has given an account in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, vol. ii. No. 1. There is a cast in the British Museum. He points out that some idea of the relief, not shown in this copy, may be gathered from a small unfinished statuette, a cast of which is also in the Museum (called the 'Lenormant' statuette), and from the fragment of the shield ('Strangford') mentioned in note 24. When Mr. Newton speaks of the 'ignoble baldness' of the copy in place of the 'breadth and simplicity' of the original, he but repeats the judgment of Winckelmann, who applies the adjectives 'schlecht und plump' to a statue inscribed with the name of Antiochos of Athens in the Villa Ludovisi (Overbeck, *Geschichte*, vol. ii⁸. p. 394), now known to be also a copy of the Pheidian colossus. In fact, a statue designed for the enormous scale of the Parthenos could not but look disproportioned if exactly copied on a small scale. The sculptors who modelled the finest existing marble statues of Athena, the 'Velletri' Pallas²⁶ in the Louvre, the 'Giustiniani' in the Vatican, and the 'Farnese' at Naples, gave the goddess a heavy *himation*, depending from the shoulder and enveloping the

²⁶ *Denkmäler d. alt. Kunst*, ii. pl. 19, Nos. 204, 205.

lower limbs, thus substituting transverse lines for the vertical folds of the original. Another statue in the Louvre²⁷, called 'Minerve au collier' (Fröhner's Guide, No. 112), is very close to the Pheidian design, preserving its heavy and massive column-like draperies. Flaxman's sketch (Lectures on Sculpture, pl. 19) shows how acutely he guessed what the treatment of drapery in the huge original must have been. His restoration of the Olympian Zeus in the following plate also deserves study.

§ 6. **The Parthenon. Pedimental Groups**²⁸. The Parthenon, built by the architect Ictinus, was dedicated in B.C. 438, six years before the outbreak of the Peloponnesian war. With all its rich ornament of sculpture, its pedimental groups, metopes, and frieze, it was a monument of the greatness of imperial Athens, and no unworthy shrine for the statue of her protecting goddess Athena. For more than two thousand years, although the building was more than once remodelled, and became first a Christian church and afterwards a Mohammedan mosque, the sculptures seem to have remained substantially uninjured, except from the ravages of time and the loss of the central group of the east pediment. In A.D. 1674 a French artist, Jacques Carrey, travelling in the suite of the French ambassador (M. de Nointel), made a series of drawings of the sculptures as then existing. These are preserved in the Louvre; copies are in the Library of the British Museum. They show that at that time the group of statues adorning the west pediment was tolerably complete, except for the loss of one chariot-group and several heads and arms; while in the eastern composition the central group, already alluded to, was missing. Thirteen years later, in A.D. 1687, during the siege of the Acropolis by the Venetians and Swedes, a bomb fell through the roof of the Parthenon, ignited the powder which the Turks had stored there, and thus threw down all the centre of the building. After the capture of the

²⁷ D. A. K. ii. pl. 20, No. 211.

²⁸ Carrey's drawings in *Ov.* i. 293, Redf. 151, Perr. 258 and 263. Detached groups in Murray 2, plates iv-ix.

height the conquerors destroyed or carried away much of what was left, and thus fragments of the sculptures have since come to light at Venice and Copenhagen and elsewhere. In the years 1801-3 the chief part of the Parthenon sculptures, some taken from the temple itself, others obtained by excavating in the ruins and buildings then clustered round it, were carried to England by Lord Elgin; they were afterwards bought for the nation, and now form the principal treasure of the British Museum.

The sole reference to the sculptures of the Parthenon in ancient authors is the curt notice of Pausanias²⁹—‘at the entrance of the temple called the Parthenon, the sculptures in the so-called *pediments* all refer to the birth of Athena; those at the back are the contest for the land between Poseidon and Athena.’

The eastern composition is that to which most of the extant figures belong. How the central scene, the birth of Athena from the head of Zeus, was here presented cannot now be determined, as it was lost before Carrey made his drawings. The figures which remain belong to the side-groups, and the general sentiment expressed seems to be astonishment and admiration, more intensified towards the centre and gradually communicating itself to the corners. Taking the remains as they now exist we have in the corners those figures which, according to the Greek practice, indicate the scene of the action. This, in the present instance, is the space traversed by the sun and moon. On the left (from the spectator) the Sun-god, Hêlios, is appearing above the horizon, the heads and necks of the horses and the head and arms of the god alone being visible. The head of Hêlios has been broken off and the horses are much injured, yet still, with their heads and ears thrown back and their powerful chests arched forward, they seem to rear and tug at the reins—

‘The horse that guide the golden eye of heaven
And blow the morning from their nosterils,
Making their fiery gait above the clouds³⁰.’

²⁹ I. 24. 5.

³⁰ Marlowe, Tamburlaine. Cp. Virgil, Aen. 12. 115.

In the opposite corner the Moon-goddess, Selênê, is sinking below the level of the pediment. One of the four horses' heads is in the British Museum, a marvellous union of natural truth with idealisation in the grand style; the others are still on the pediment. This head, inclined downwards, forms³¹ a striking contrast with the up-springing heads of the opposite group. There the sun comes forth 'like a giant to run his course;' here the yet panting steed seems eager to reach the goal of rest. It is marvellous that with such simple means, heads and nothing more, the designer should be able to stimulate imagination so powerfully. On the right of Hêlios, proceeding towards the centre of the pediment, follow four figures; first, a reclining male figure, next two seated females, and the last, a female moving rapidly towards the left. The man has been called Theseus, Heracles, Dionysus, and a mountain-god³². He

³¹ In the 'Guide to the Sculptures of the Parthenon' will be found a detailed treatment of every separate fragment of the pediments as well as an exhaustive statement of the many theories which have been put forth concerning their interpretation. For the right understanding of the draped figures, it is necessary to get some clear ideas about the different costumes used by Greek females from such books as Becker's *Charicles*, the *Dict. of Antiquities*, etc.

³² Since this chapter was written Dr. Waldstein in his 'Essays on the Art of Pheidias' has elaborated his views on the nomenclature of the figures in the pedimental groups of the Parthenon. Following a suggestion of Prof. Brunn of Munich, he regards the Western Pediment as containing the representations of local divinities having their cults in or near Athens. The scene is laid on the earth and is bounded by the rivers Cephissus and Ilissus. The scene of the Eastern Pediment is laid on Olympus, the Homeric abode of the gods, spoken of now as Heaven and now as a real mountain. As the Sun-god and Moon-goddess who mark the limits of the scene are personifications of natural powers, so are the other figures in the angles, which are all that now remain. The so-called Theseus is the mountain-god himself, symbolising Olympus; in the group next him are the Hours who have charge of the gates of Heaven and Olympus (II. 5. 749). On the other side, the detached female figure is Hestia; the group is Thalassa (Sea) lying in the lap of Gaia (Land). The more luxuriant drapery of this group as compared with the one in the opposite corner (see page 42) he takes to be symbolical of the flowing nature of the sea.

In the same work will be found an account of the restoration of one of

reclines upon a panther-skin stretched over a boulder of rock ; his raised right hand probably held some object now broken off. The two women sit upon stools, the arm of one resting upon the shoulder of the next with loving grace ; they are dressed in the light *chiton* with the heavier upper garment, the *himation* or *chlaina*, thrown across their knees, the difference in the folds forming a skilfully designed contrast. They may be Demeter and Persephonê. Next to them is Iris, moving swiftly towards them, so that her drapery is blown by the wind against her limbs and her robe arches out behind in the form of a bow. Turning to the right side, we have, first, next to Selênê, a group of three sisterly figures, one reclining in the lap of the second, and a third seated near, upon pieces of rock hollowed out into seats. This group forms the most perfect example of the artistic treatment of drapery, with its harmonious flow of line and pleasant interchange of light and shade. There is a more refined luxuriance, a more lavish display of exquisitely wrought folds than in the corresponding group of Demeter and Persephonê, which is sculptured in broader style, more with a view to distant effect. The sisters have been called the Hôrai, or Hours, the Moirai, or Fates, and the three daughters of Cecrops. Beyond them, nearest the centre, will be seen in the Museum the torso of a moving figure corresponding to Iris. She is missing in Carrey's drawings and her place cannot therefore be positively identified, but it is supposed that she is Nikê, moving towards Athena to set a crown upon her head.

The composition of the western pediment appears nearly complete in Carrey's drawing, but has suffered more, so that the extant remains are few. Besides the nearly perfect Cephissus (or Ilissus), a much battered group of a man and a woman which the finest metopes (No. 6), by the author's discovery of the head belonging to the Lapith in the Louvre, and a full discussion of the group of seated gods in the eastern part of the frieze with especial reference to some terra-cotta 'plaques' which appear, if genuine, to be ancient copies of the Parthenon frieze. The book also contains the essay on the 'Choiseul-Gouffier' Pugilist mentioned in note 34, p. 26, and an essay on the Hermes of Praxiteles.

is still *in situ*, there remain the torsos of Athena, Poseidon, Hermes (or Ares), Amphitritê, Leucothea, Ilissus, and Callirrhoê, all in a sorely mutilated condition. From the drawing, however, we can gather something of the original group. The scene of the action is the Acropolis, marked by the encompassing river-deities, Cephisus and Ilissus, with the nymph Callirrhoê, who occupy the corners. In the central group Athena is on the left, raising her arm with a gesture of triumph; probably the olive-tree which she caused to spring from the earth was represented. Poseidon starts back in anger at his defeat. Behind Athena is her chariot, with four horses, driven by Nikê, while Ares (?) is in attendance, and there follow other deities who take part with her, possibly Demeter and Persephonê with Iacchus, and Cecrops (Asclepius?) with his wife. Behind Poseidon was doubtless a corresponding chariot-group; then follow Amphitritê as driver, with another attendant marine goddess; Leucothea with her son Melicertes; Thalassa with the foam-born Aphrodite on her knee, and her attendant Eros; and a nymph. The exact names of the subordinate figures are, however, a matter of doubt.

Carrey's drawing enables us to study the design as a whole. The effect which the artist aimed at in his grouping was to break the main architectural lines, the vertical lines of the columns and the horizontal and diagonal lines of architrave and cornice, by every variety of curve; there is a wave-like progression from the corners to the centre, swelling upwards with alternate rise and fall, and a similar gradation of movement and excitement, which are strongest in the centre and cease altogether in the reclining figures in the angles; in the centre all the interest reaches its climax, and the key is given by which to read the motive of the attitude of each individual figure. If the similarity of the motives of various groups and figures be noticed and their different treatment compared, e. g. Theseus with Cephisus, or Demeter and Persephonê with the balancing group of sisters, an idea is gained of the artist's

richness of resource and manifold play of fancy. The central figures are necessarily on a larger scale than those which follow, but in the west pediment, by the interposition of chariot-groups, the transition is broken and the discrepancy is hardly apparent.

The careful comparison of different figures will emphasise our sense of the skill with which the opposite ideas of movement and rest are conveyed. Theseus on the one side, and the sisterly Fates on the other, express the very ideal of serene rest such as gods enjoy; their robust and strongly developed forms forbid any attribution of weakness or indolence; it is the rest of reserved strength, the enjoyment of sacred calm. There are gradations from recumbent to sitting postures, and some figures, with one or both feet drawn under them, seem on the point of rising. In the figure of Iris, where every line indicates movement, not violent, but a swift gliding through the air, we see the impersonation of a breeze.

It has always been a matter for astonishment that the parts of the statues which were set against the wall of the tympanum, and which could never be seen by any human eye, are almost as carefully finished as the visible portions; this apparently unnecessary prodigality of labour seemed to the German sculptor Rietschel to prove that the artist possessed 'a creative impulse truly divine, to give to the work which was to be, its own completeness for its own sake, a completeness like that of the flower which blooms in deserts devoid of man and beast.' In the pedimental sculptures of the temple of Olympian Zeus, the back parts are left unfinished, or merely blocked out. The same scrupulous fidelity is elsewhere noticeable in the Athenian work; thus in the torso of Poseidon the veins of the body, swollen with anger and excitement, are traced with careful precision, though at the height at which the statues were placed, such details must have been scarcely appreciable to the eye.

§ 7. **The Parthenon. The Metopes.** Metopes, it will be remembered, are rectangular slabs placed at regular intervals

along the top of the architrave, and alternating with the triglyphs, which were a survival of the beam-ends of the roof. The metopes of the Parthenon are sculptured in very high relief, so that many parts of the figures stand out wholly detached from the back-ground. The composition upon such slabs may be regarded from two points of view. From one point of view, each metope must be a complete whole in itself, a separate picture or scene, carrying with it its own interpretation. On the other hand, the close proximity of the several metopes called for a certain unity of design; and from this point of view each metope may be looked upon as a single incident or scene in an action whose representation is extended, by a series of groups, along the whole frieze. Thus each metope must bear a certain relation of connexion to its neighbour. In the metopes of the Theseum, and those of the temple of Olympian Zeus, the separate designs are united by the fact that the same hero appears in successive slabs; they represent scenes from the labours of Heracles and the heroic deeds of Theseus. In those of the Parthenon metopes, in which the design is sufficiently well preserved to be made out with certainty, the scene presented is the contest between the Centaurs and Lapithae at the marriage-feast of Peirithous, and each metope shows us a separate pair of combatants, in some of which the Lapith is victorious, in others the Centaur, while in others the issue yet hangs doubtful; or else a Centaur is carrying off a female figure. The legend of this battle was an exceedingly favourite subject with Greek artists, and it occurs over and over again with a constancy that would become monotonous if all the resources of design were not called forth to furnish novel and striking combinations. One of the most remarkable of these many designs is the pedimental group, designed by Alcamenes for the temple of Olympian Zeus. It is also the subject of a part of the Phigalian frieze. Peirithous, king of the Lapiths, had, according to the legend, summoned his friend Theseus to celebrate his marriage with Deidameia, to which festivity came also the Centaurs from the Thessalian

mountains. During the feast these wild, ungovernable natures, half-man, half-horse, became inflamed with wine, and attempted to carry off the women from the banquet. Whereupon a battle arose between the ravishers and the men of Peirithous, which ended in a victory for the latter. To the Greek mind, the legend seemed to bear an allegorical import, as the earliest contest between civilisation and brute barbarism. In some of the Parthenon metopes, the Centaurs have low, animal faces, like satyrs; in others they wear a nobler aspect. Such a variation was found also in the literary myth, which among these semi-beasts recognised nobler types; such as was Cheiron, the cunning physician, skilled in the lyre, the tutor of Jason and Achilles. To the Athenian the story appealed with a double interest, since no small part in the struggle was played by their national hero, Theseus. Two metopes are especially noteworthy. They are the 27th and the 28th of the original series³³, and are numbered 12 and 13 in the British Museum.

In the first, the Lapith has already wounded the Centaur in the back, and while he stems his foe's course by grasping him by the head with the left hand, setting his foot (now broken away) against a stone, and throwing his weight backwards, he presses his leg against his enemy's flank, and with the right hand (which held a sword or spear, now broken off) prepares to deal another and final blow. The Centaur, with an instinctive movement of pain, clutches at the wound in his back, and rears. Behind the Lapith is spread a broad mantle, with the ends falling over each arm. It is a good example of the very bold and purely decorative use of drapery, since if we choose to regard it from a realistic point of view, nothing could sustain it in its position. But the flowing curves of its folds form an effective set-off to the strongly-knit, muscular frame of the youth. The group is an admirable example of perfect balance. Though so full of life and movement, the eye can rest upon it for a length of time

³³ Guide to Sculptures of Parthenon, i, Nos. 12 and 13, p. 41, Ov. I. 321, 322, Murr. 2, p. 56, pl. iii.

with undiminished pleasure. The movement is natural, because it has resulted in balance, not the stereotyping of an uncomfortable attitude; it is rhythmical, because the sense of it is carried out in every line.

The other example is perhaps finer still. In its composition it is as harmonious as the former metope, and it is yet more dramatic. The feeling of wild triumph animating the Centaur as he brandishes his weapon with one hand and lion-skin with the other, and prances over his fallen adversary, is so keenly apparent that the loss of his head, fore-legs, and part of the hind-legs seems scarcely to mar our sense of the vigour of the action. To this triumphant figure, the type of the wild glee, of savage nature, full of pulsing life, the figure of the Lapith below offers the most complete contrast. He lies helpless and unconscious; to use an Homeric phrase, 'his knees are loosened,' all his limbs are relaxed in the feebleness of death; his head falls back, and the arm that wielded his weapon lies helpless across his body. It is an admirably conceived antithesis between life and death, exultation and defeat.

§ 8. **The Parthenon. The Frieze**³⁴. On the outer wall of the cella (*naós*) of the Parthenon there ran a frieze like a continuous band of sculpture all round the building. It was so placed as to be visible only to a spectator standing inside the encircling colonnade, and looking up at the interior wall. Running, as it did, close under the roof of the colonnade, it could receive no light falling upon it directly, but only such diminished light as was reflected upwards from the floor. It was necessarily carved in low relief. The metopes, exposed to the full light of day, and visible from a distance, could derive advantage from the high lights and deep shadows of high relief; the scantily lighted frieze, which could only be viewed immediately from below, was necessarily flat. No doubt it derived much of its effect from the colour employed to set off the figures from the background, and

³⁴ Ov. 1. 330 and 336, Murr. 2. pl. i., ii., etc.

to bring out details of dress, armour, and so on. And there were other accessories besides colour. Bronze work was freely employed; the holes drilled for the purpose of fastening the bronze bits and bridles of the horses may still be observed in the marble.

This frieze, which ran round the four walls of the cella, and formed a long band of sculpture, is conceived as a whole, and one subject embraces the whole design. This subject is a procession. As to what that procession was we are left to guess from the evidence of the design itself, since our ancient authorities pass it by unnoticed. It is generally agreed that it is the Panathenaic procession, which used to be conducted from the outer parts of the city (Cerameicus) up to the Acropolis every year, and with more than usual splendour every fifth year, in honour of the great goddess Athena. In this procession all classes of the Athenian people took part, headed by their magistrates and other leaders and directors, and with them were associated delegates from the Athenian *Klêrouchiai*, or colonies retaining Athenian citizenship, delegates from other colonies, *metics* (*μέτοικοι*) or resident foreigners, and so on. On the occasion of the Greater Panathenaic Festival there occurred a ceremony called the delivery of the *peplos*, a robe made by certain Athenian maidens to be placed upon the old statue of Athena Polias, which stood in the Erechtheum.

The procession was represented as starting from the S. W. angle. The W. side exhibits preparations for the procession, which is continued along the N. and S. sides, and culminates in the middle of the E. side, the central group of which shows the delivery of the *peplos*; between the two ends of the procession and this central group are figured the deities who are conceived as watching the ceremony.

The continuity of the whole composition is most striking. The eye is carried on from group to group in perpetual advance till it reaches the east front, where, in front of a row of Athenian maidens, groups of magistrates stand waiting, disposed in the

most harmonious attitudes. The two groups of seated gods have been the subject of much controversy, and no one has succeeded in certainly identifying them all. They are much disfigured; the features in most cases are worn away so as to be unrecognisable, but the skill of the grouping is sufficiently evident in the graceful contour-lines of the composition. Zeus is distinguishable by his more elaborate chair, and Hera by her position next him; Athena and Hermes are also known from their attributes, the fringed breast-lappet (*aegis*) and the broad-brimmed travelling hat (*petasos*). The best preserved slab, found since Lord Elgin brought away the marbles and therefore still at Athens, shows Poseidon with possibly Dionysus and Demeter. The faces exhibit the somewhat conventional type exhibited elsewhere in the frieze. Between these gracefully ordered groups of gods the central group, the priest and priestess, the boy with the *peplos*, and attendants carrying stools on their heads, strikes the modern observer as stiff and inharmonious, but it was doubtless an essential part of the subject³⁵.

The finest part of the procession of horsemen is that at the western end of the northern side. Whereas on the western side there is considerable space between the horsemen and each horse is seen almost complete, those of the northern frieze are crowded closely together and overlap, so that almost the whole surface of the marble is occupied. From this density arises an animation, a feeling of life and perpetual movement, and the eye is carried on as it were by a flowing stream. The artist has arranged his riders in irregular ranks, not in column, but the strict laws of perspective which would require diminution in the size of figures seen one behind the other are necessarily violated, perspective being totally out of place in a relief; again, all the heads are on the same level, both of standing and mounted figures, though the eye is not conscious of any violation of truth. The number in each rank varies from four

³⁵ There is a restoration of the frieze round the exterior wall of the Athenaeum in London.

to eight, and each new rank is marked by a complete figure (the left-hand man) whose whole outline is seen. There are also outriders and officers, and every possible variety of attitude and costume is introduced; some riders wear a helmet, some have a *petasos* hanging from the neck, some are bare-headed; some are nude, others have a *chlamys* over the arm, others are completely dressed, some turn their backs to the spectator, others front half round.

Other reliefs may possess life and variety to a degree which equals the spirit and animation of this composition. But none exhibit so fully the balanced, rhythmical movement which is here displayed, so that the eye is never disturbed with a sense of distortion or unrest.

The exceedingly careful finish of the work can only be appreciated in the presence of the actual marbles. Flaxman points out how in the horses the hardness and decision of bony forms can be distinguished from the elasticity of tendon and the softness of flesh. 'The beholder is charmed with the deer-like lightness and elegance of the horses' make, and although the relief is not above an inch from the background, and they are so much smaller than nature, we can scarcely suffer reason to persuade us that they are not alive.'

CHAPTER IV.

OTHER ATTIC MONUMENTS OF THE FIFTH CENTURY.

§ 1. **The Kanêphoros of the Erechtheum**¹. The Erechtheum, or Temple of Athena Polias, stood towards the northern side of the Acropolis of Athens. Only finally completed in B.C. 408, it was of the Ionic order, and was dedicated jointly to Athena Polias and Erechtheus, while Pandrosos, the 'all-bedewing' daughter of Cecrops, was associated with these. The plan of the temple serving this triple purpose is very singular. The western end, which was the part consecrated to Pandrosos, had two porches projecting from the corners of the building, and the southern porch had its roof resting upon six female figures instead of columns². One of these was brought by Lord Elgin to England, and is in the British Museum. The maiden is clothed in a long robe reaching to her feet, one side of which falls in straight folds resembling the flutings of a column, while on the other, the slightly-bent knee affords the contrast of a smooth surface. Down to the girdle, which causes rich folds below it, hangs the *diploidion*. The plaited locks of hair on the head strengthen the column without materially increasing its size to the eye; above is a basket-

¹ Restored in Ov. 1. 358; best given in Rayet, livr. 4; Murr. 2. 194.

² The name *Caryatid*, given to female figures used instead of columns, is derived from Caryae, a Peloponnesian town where the maidens used to dance in honour of Artemis Caryatis, and probably served as the earliest models for this innovation. The name *Kanêphoros* points to an imitation from Athenian maidens who carried baskets on their heads during sacred processions. Male supporters thus employed are termed Atlantes or Telamônes, as in a temple at Agrigentum. The church of St. Pancras, London, has an imitation of the porch of the Erechtheum.

shaped capital, set upon a roll of hair. The sculptor has had well in view the architectural purpose of his statue; while making it look strong enough to bear the burden of the incumbent architrave, he has invested it with an air of ease. The use of such columnar figures became very common afterwards in Italy, and it is remarkable to observe how later sculptors, in striving after an additional grace, as a forward inclination of the head, have missed the strength of the present design.

The frieze of the Ionic order in this temple has this peculiarity, that the figures were sculptured separately and fastened upon the surface of the stone course above the architrave by cramps of lead. There is an inscription also extant which records the payments made for these carvings and the names of the carvers. A good many fragments remain, but in a mutilated condition.

§ 2. **Sculptures of the Balustrade of the Temple of Athena Nikê or Nikê Apteros** (Wingless Victory³). This little temple, dedicated to the goddess who never forsakes her votaries, stood on a platform overlooking the steep ascent of the Acropolis, on the south side. It was knocked down during the siege of the Acropolis, but in 1835 German archaeologists and architects collected the scattered members of the building, and it was reconstructed with the loss of the roof and gable-ends and four slabs of the frieze which are in the British Museum. It was a temple of the Ionic order, with columns along the front and back only (amphiprostyle). The narrow frieze represents a battle-scene, which has been conjectured to be that of Plataea. On the outside of the temple, along the edge of the rock-wall near which it stood, ran a balustrade of marble adorned with exquisite sculptures. The originals are at Athens, but there are casts in the British Museum. The specimens which remain, though sorely battered, enable us to recognise winged female figures, Victories, fulfilling various ministrations, as sacri-

³ Ov. 1. 369; Murr. 2, pl. xvi.; Perr. 330.

fices, and the erection of trophies. On the largest slab are sculptured two winged maidens leading a calf; one holds it back by a rope attached to the horns, the other moves swiftly forward to avoid them. The latter figure is a perfect study of the swirl of loose drapery in quick movement. Two other fragments show us standing Victories with uplifted arms; they are setting up pieces of armour on a pole, making a trophy after the Greek manner. The most beautiful of all is a Victory who stoops and touches her raised right foot with her right hand, either to fasten or unloose her sandal. Her enveloping drapery serves, not to hide, but to set off the natural forms, with such delicate feeling is it carved. The lines of the drapery are so composed with the curves of the stooping body and the wide wings, that they return into themselves and form an object rounded and complete. Side by side with the beauty of these folds, the smooth unadorned surface of the wings strikes the observer as strange, and forces the conclusion that in the original the contrast was toned down by colour. It is instructive to compare these exquisitely composed and finished draperies and the fine feeling for the draped form underneath, with the group of the three sisters in the east pediment of the Parthenon. Making every allowance for the difference of scale, which required broad treatment in the one case and very fine work in the other, we yet may mark a change of tone. In the Parthenon sculptures, the prevailing impression is of force, and gracefulness is absorbed in the larger impression of magnificence. In these Victories gracefulness appears to be the prime motive of the sculptor. Some have thought that this indication of changed feeling fixes the date of the execution of these sculptures as not earlier than the very end of the fifth century, and they would thus form the transition to the age of Praxiteles. On the other hand, the difference may be a difference of mood in one artist, corresponding to the difference of scale in which he worked. In this case we might still believe that the sculptures were another product of the versatility of the Pheidias

age; and the difference between the mighty and sustained music of 'Paradise Lost' and the lighter, tenderer rhythm of 'L'Allegro' and 'Il Penseroso' will furnish a literary parallel.

§ 3. **The Eleusinian Relief**⁴. This is a marble slab found at Eleusis, and now preserved at Athens. On it are carved in low relief three figures, two female, with a boy between them. The two are the patron goddesses of that solemn Attic cult which had its centre at Eleusis, Demeter and Persephonê. They instruct the youthful Triptolemus in order that he may become under their fostering guidance a civiliser of men. He, standing between these majestic deities, with his robe only loosely held round him, looks up with trustful confidence into the face of Demeter, and receives from her hand some token; Persephonê lifts her hand above his head, as a sign of favour and protection. There is a striking difference in the style in which the two goddesses are presented. Demeter bears traces in almost every detail of an earlier manner of sculpture, the hair worked in regular parallels, the flat loop below the arm, the straight lines of drapery, and the unnaturally long feet resting all their length on the ground. Persephonê, on the other hand, is a picture of grave loveliness; all the curves in her figure are graceful and flowing; her attitude is light; her dress shows the favourite contrast between the larger folds of the upper and the finer folds of the inner garment; her wavy hair is gathered up behind in a knot, leaving the ear visible. Demeter's dress and attitude suggest a comparison with the Kanêphoros of the Erechtheum; Persephonê recalls the 'Barberini' Hera of the Vatican. It is a reasonable supposition that the sculptor, in presenting Demeter, was led by piety to preserve an older and stricter type to which men had become endeared by association, while in the case of Persephonê, whose statues were rarer, he could allow his artistic instincts and technical skill more free play. We may note that each goddess carries a symbol, Demeter a

⁴ Overbeck's *Kunstmythologie*, vol. 2, bk. 4; Perr. 302; Redf. 185.

sceptre, to denote her sovereignty over the earth, Persephonê a long pine-torch, indicating her empire over the nether-world. No other ancient monument is more expressive of reverential feeling than this. It seems to breathe the solemn spirit of the Sophoclean lyric:—

‘O that this were decreed
My destiny to be,
To cherish piety
With purity of word and every deed,’ etc.⁶

§ 4. **The Orpheus Relief**⁶. The legend of Orpheus, the poet-minstrel of Greek mythology, tells of his tender love for his wife Eurydicê, and how when she died, being inconsolable for her loss, he descended to the abode of departed spirits in search of her. Then, overcome by the spell of his music, Hades granted his request, on condition that as they passed back he should go before her, and not look back till the upper world was reached. Virgil shall tell the rest⁷. ‘And now he was returning, every danger passed, and Eurydicê, granted to his prayers, was passing to the upper air, following behind—such was the law Proserpina had enjoined—when a sudden frenzy seized her unthinking lover, a frenzy that might plead for pardon if the Shades knew how to pardon; he stopped, and when Eurydicê was now his own, on the threshold of light, alas! forgetful and losing self-control, he looked back on her But she cried, “Ah! what madness has undone me and thee, Orpheus? See, the cruel Fates call me back again; sleep shrouds my swimming eyes; farewell! I am borne hence, enveloped in vast night, and stretching weak hands to thee, thine, alas! no longer.” Thus she spoke, and like smoke mingling with thin air, vanished out of his sight.’ That is the poet’s story; the sculptor tells his quite differently, in a way which suits his particular art better. With him the parting is

⁶ Soph. O. T. 863.

⁶ Perr. 302, Redf. 183. *Magazine of Art*, vol. vi. (1883) p. 467.

⁷ Georg. 4. 485.

not instantaneous, but husband and wife exchange a last farewell look; he has turned, and moves her veil a little aside from her face; she lays her hand lovingly upon his shoulder. Behind her comes Hermes, the god who conducts the souls of the departed; he has led her thus far, and now, the covenant being broken, he takes her by the hand to lead her back, yet he does so with an expression of pity, as though he would fain have let her proceed.

The foreign dress of Orpheus indicates his Thracian extraction; the superior stature of Eurydicê may suggest the belief that the shade of the departed was taller than in life⁸. Hermes, although not carrying the herald's staff, is recognisable by the *petasos* hanging from his neck.

There are three replicas of this slab, which was therefore presumably copied from a celebrated original. One at Naples has the names inscribed over the figures in Greek letters; the name of Orpheus is written backwards, in a manner corresponding to his relative position. One at Paris, in the Louvre, the least excellent in workmanship, has the erroneous inscription 'Zethus, Antiopa, Amphion,' in Roman letters, which are certainly modern. The third example, uninscribed, is in the Villa Albani at Rome. It is possible that the slab may have served to adorn a tomb, or it may have been the metope of a temple. There is no evidence, apart from the style, to warrant our assigning the work to this particular period, but the traces of archaism observable in the features, as in the length of the eye and nose, taken into connexion with the general character of the workmanship and the sentiment, are tolerably sure indications that the monument is correctly referred to the fifth century.

§ 5. **The Diskobolos or Quoit-Thrower of Myron⁹.**
While the genius of Pheidias was pre-eminent in the field of ideal

⁸ Virg. Aen. 3. 773.

⁹ Ov. l. 214; Murr. l. 232; Perr. 159; Redf. 228.

creations requiring sublime imagination, the genius of his Attic¹⁰ contemporary Myron displayed itself in a less exalted sphere. He seems to have devoted himself to athlete statues, statues in which the dominant motive is the realisation of a situation or character (*genre*), and animal statues. His bronze cow is the subject of innumerable epigrams¹¹, as being so like a living animal that the cowherd tries to drive it off, or that it must be a real cow with a bronze skin, or a bronze cow with a living soul, and others not more witty. An epigram¹² on his celebrated statue of Ladas, the runner, hits off this power of vivid and realistic presentation of life—the sculptor has ‘graved in the whole body the hope of the crown¹³.’ There is a bronze statuette of Marsyas in the British Museum¹⁴, believed to be copied from a group of his representing Athena with Marsyas; a marble replica is in the Lateran Museum at Rome. But the most familiar of Myron’s works is the Quoit-Thrower, of which many copies remain which correspond generally with one another, and with the description of Lucian¹⁵—‘the quoit-player, who is stooping forward in attitude to throw, twisting his body round toward the hand that holds the quoit, half-crouching on one leg, and looking ready to spring up as he makes his cast’—except that in the marble copies (British Museum and Vatican, Rome) the head is turned to the ground before him, whereas in a bronze replica in the Massimi Palace at Rome the head is turned round towards the quoit-hand.

The sculptor cannot represent movement, but only suggest it. Since he can only render permanent a single instant of time, the skilful artist will choose that moment which is most preg-

¹⁰ Though born, according to Pliny (N. H. 34. 57), in Eleutherae, a town on the frontier between Attica and Boeotia, Pausanias (6. 2. 2) calls him an Athenian; he may have received the citizenship. Eleutherae, like Plataea, voluntarily deserted the Theban confederacy for alliance with Athens.

¹¹ SQ. 553, 591.

¹³ ἐπὶ παντὶ χαράξας

σώματι Πισαίου προσδοκῆν στεφάνου.

¹² Ib. 542.

¹⁴ See Rayet, livr. 5; Overb. I. 208.

¹⁵ Philopseud. 18; SQ. 544.

nant, that which in itself partakes in as small a degree as possible of violent action, while it is most suggestive of the action which is over and that which is to follow. This is not, as a rule, the culminating point of the action, but an instant of rest immediately before, or immediately after, the crisis. Here the sculptor has chosen the moment of preparatory balance, the slight pause between the backward swing of the mass of stone and the forward sweep of the tensely-stretched arm. Thus the youth rests all his weight on his *right* foot, the toes of which clutch the ground for firmer hold; as the arm swings round, the left foot, now balanced, will be thrust forward and receive all the weight of the body as the missile leaves the hand. In another moment the imagination sees the left foot planted and the quoit whirled into the air. Like the Homeric Cyclops, the diskobolos puts 'measureless strength' into his cast. The object of the game was to throw the quoit, a mass of stone or metal, as far as possible; not, as with us, at a mark.

Pliny¹⁶ tells us that Myron was the first among ancients to 'multiply truth.' This strange phrase appears to mean that he studied truth in variety, and sought out daring situations, even strained and violent actions, which his accurate knowledge of nature enabled him to invest with the appearance of ease essential to artistic effect. Pliny likewise calls him 'more rhythmical in art than Polycleitus.' The difficult word rhythm (*ῥυθμός*, *numerus*) implies measured or balanced movement. As to other remarks of Pliny, that though accurate in bodily form Myron did not express the feelings of the soul, and that he was careless in the rendering of the hair, the loss of the original works prevents our affirming or refuting his judgment. Quintilian¹⁷, seeming at first to condemn the statue by applying to it the epithets 'irregular and laboured' (*distortum atque elaboratum*), really points out how the novelty of the conception and the difficulty of its realisation constitute the chief merit of the artist.

¹⁶ N. H. 34. 57. 58.

¹⁷ Inst. 2. 13. 8

It is probable that the original bronze statue was so balanced as to stand without those props which are necessary to the marble copies.

§ 6. **Standing Diskobolos**¹⁸. This statue, a favourite model for art-students, exists in several copies, one of which has recently been acquired for the British Museum. With the quoit borne for a moment in the left hand so as not to weary the right, the player presses his right foot slightly against the ground, as though to test at once its firmness and the elasticity of his own limbs; the forward inclination of the head and the unconscious movement of the fingers of the right hand are in unison with this simple motive. The graceful pose, the face with its refined and serious features, surrounded by a row of close locks falling beneath the head-band frequently used by practising athletes, taken in connexion with the scale of proportions¹⁹, indicate that the statue comes from the Attic school. It contrasts both with the Diskobolos of Myron and the Doryphoros of Polycleitus,—with the former from the greater simplicity of its motive, with the latter by its lightness and grace. The statue is attributed to this period from its style; some archaeologists have endeavoured to identify it with the ‘Pentathlos Enkriomenos’ (chosen winner of the *pentathlon*²⁰) of Alcamenes²¹. But no correspondence can be traced between this statue and the sculptures of the west pediment of the temple of Zeus at Olympia.

¹⁸ Ov. 1. 276; Redf. 230; Perr. 362.

¹⁹ Proportions were measured in various ways; sometimes the foot was taken as the unit of measurement, sometimes the head. It cannot be doubted that certain definite proportions were pretty rigidly observed in different schools, but no one has been able to lay down accurately what these were. See the accounts of Polycleitus and Lysippus, later. Clarac, in his *Musée de Sculpture*, gives a large number of comparative measurements according to head-lengths.

²⁰ The pentathlon was a contest in five ‘events,’ jumping, running, quoit and javelin throwing, and wrestling.

²¹ Plin. N. H. 34. 72.

CHAPTER V.

CONTEMPORARY PELOPONNESIAN SCULPTURE.

§ 1. **Introduction.** The materials for forming a judgment of the style of Peloponnesian sculpture in the fifth century are, first, the recently discovered Olympian sculptures; secondly, the marbles of Phigalia; thirdly, certain copies of the works of Polycleitus.

The exact relation of these Peloponnesian sculptures to the Attic school is a matter hard to determine, since Athenian sculptors and architects, as Alcamenes and Ictinus, were certainly employed upon the temples; but it is difficult to say how far their influence extended, since both the form and spirit of the sculptures are in many points alien to the form and spirit of contemporary Attic work. The differences will be gathered from what follows; but the chief results may be summarised here. In point of technical skill the Peloponnesians were considerably behind the Athenians; in their choice of subjects they preferred such as would lend themselves to dramatic and picturesque treatment; and they sought less to idealise than to exhibit a vigorous naturalism.

In our estimate of Polycleitus, since we only possess second-rate Roman copies of his work, it is impossible to do more than to indicate generally what appear to have been the fundamental principles which regulated his artistic faculty.

§ 2. **The Temple of Zeus at Olympia**¹. This Doric temple, partially cleared by the French expedition of 1829 and

¹ Boetticher, *Olympia*, p. 274; *Ov.* i. 420; *Murr.* 2, pl. xii; *Perr.* 235; *Heracles and Bull*, Rayet, *livr.* i; *Atlas and Heracles*, *Murr.* 2, pl. xiii. Photographs from E. Wasmuth, 6, Werder St., Berlin.

completely excavated during the German explorations of 1875-1881, was that in which stood the chryselephantine statue of Zeus by Pheidias. Pausanias² gives a short description of the pedimental compositions, and tells us that the eastern was the work of Paonius of Mendê, and the western of Alcamenes the Athenian. The first represented the preliminaries for the chariot-race between Pelops, suitor of Hippodameia, and Oenomaus, king of Elis, her father. The second had for its subject the contest between Centaurs and Lapiths at the marriage-feast of Peirithous and Deïdameia. Very extensive remains of these sculptures have been found and are preserved at Olympia. It has been found possible to reconstruct the entire groups with a near approach to certainty. That of Paonius is disappointingly tame; that of Alcamenes, though it errs in the opposite direction of extreme violence and exaggerated force, is by far the finer of the two. The central figure of Alcamenes' composition, Apollo (Pausanias calls him Peirithous by a patent blunder) standing with his right arm outstretched to quell the violence of the brutal Centaurs, illustrates the peculiarities, the merits, and defects of all these sculptures. In its regular symmetry and parallelism, and its large and pronounced features with their stern expression, it preserves certain traditions belonging to an earlier period; viewed as a whole, the figure is a design of noble and commanding proportions; examined in detail, it betrays no very accurate study of nature, and superficial, perhaps intentionally negligent, execution of details. Traces of archaism, largeness of style, want of finish in execution—these are the marks of all the Olympian work. They will be clearly traced in the metopes which decorated the temple³, representing the labours of Heracles. One fine slab, the Cretan Bull, is in the Louvre, except the bull's head, which was found later. Another, almost perfect, representing Heracles and Atlas, was found by the Germans, besides fragments of others. In this slab Heracles has taken the place of Atlas while the latter has

² Paus. 5. 10. 6-8.

³ Ib. 5. 10. 9.

gone to fetch the apples from the garden of the Hesperides, which was the hero's appointed task. The world which Atlas was doomed to carry is imagined to rise from the upper edge of the slab; Heracles has provided himself with a cushion to ease his shoulders, and a female—some think Athena, some a Hesperid, some a nymph—lends a feeble aid. Atlas, returning with the apples, offers them to the hero, who is obviously embarrassed with the situation.

Here again a broad and striking effect, with exclusion of all elaboration of detail, is aimed at. The hand of Heracles, for instance, is quite formless; the hair and beard of Atlas and the beard of Heracles are carved according to the general shape of the mass, the rest being left to the painter's art. But as it is, placed at a considerable height and thrown out with the necessary colour, the slab would certainly make an effective architectural picture. It is not intended to be looked at closely.

§ 3. **The Phigalian Marbles**⁴. On the high table-land of Arcadia, in the side which looks towards Olympia, there still stand, in almost perfect preservation, the columns and architrave of a temple built by the people of Phigalia at Bassae⁵, near their own city, to record their gratitude to Apollo Epicurius, the 'Helper,' who rescued their land from the pestilence which ravaged a great part of Greece during the first years of the Peloponnesian war. The architect was Ictinus the Athenian, who also helped to build the Parthenon, and for the beauty of its stone-work and its proportions, it ranked among Peloponnesian temples as second only to the temple of Athena Alea at Tegea. It was explored in 1812 by the same party of archaeologists who discovered the Aeginetan marbles, and the slabs of a frieze which were found were subsequently bought for the British Museum. The temple was externally of the Doric order⁶, but

⁴ Specimens Overb. 1. 449; Murr. 2, pl. xiv. and xv; Perr. 310, 312.

⁵ Paus. 8. 39. 5.

⁶ A plan and description will be found in the Encycl. Brit. 9th edit., s. v. Phigalia.

the interior of the cella was surrounded by a colonnade of the Ionic order supporting the stone roof, and over these Ionic columns ran the existing frieze. It falls into two divisions, one of which represents the fight between Athenians and Amazons, the other the battle between Lapiths and Centaurs, while between the two Apollo and Artemis are hastening to the rescue in a chariot drawn by a pair of stags. There is a restoration of the frieze on a small scale in the Taylor Building at Oxford, which was built by one of the discoverers, the architect C. R. Cockerell. The frieze differs essentially from the Parthenon frieze in this, that while the Athenian subject exhibits a continuous procession, the space of the Phigalian frieze is broken up into a series of groups representing simultaneous scenes. The chief merit of the sculptures lies in the inexhaustible variety shown in the composition of the groups; the artist has exerted all his fancy to avoid monotony, to give each situation its individual character, and to link together each successive group with intermediate figures. The space is crowded to the utmost possible extent consistent with clearness; masses of floating drapery are often introduced to fill the blanks between the heads, which reach to the top of the slabs. The movement everywhere displays a bold and excited fancy, which at times degenerates into violence, as where a wild Centaur has seized his adversary in front by his teeth, and kicks with his hind-legs against a foe behind him. Some of the groups, as that of the Lapith Caeneus being crushed under a mass of rock let fall by two Centaurs, are variations of similar scenes on the frieze of the Theseum. This indication, coupled with the fact that the architect was an Athenian, is our warrant for supposing that the designs were at all events partly furnished by Athenian sculptors. In execution the marbles do not approach the standard of the Parthenon, though superior in many respects to the Olympian sculptures. The individual figures are thick-set, and the faces are devoid of expression. Generally the impression made on the beholder is one of force rather than of beauty and grace. In the longest slab, which is

one of the best-preserved, a Greek, near the centre of the slab, wearing a lion's skin on his left arm, steps back to deal a blow, probably with a battle-axe, at a mounted Amazon who charges him from the left, the greater part of whose figure is lost. Between the two is another Amazon on foot, coming to the aid of her sister, and armed with a crescent-shield ('*lunata pelta*'). Her attitude is an exact counterpart of the Greek's, the lines of the two figures forming a diagonal cross. Below the horse's fore-legs is a wounded Greek, feebly trying to draw his sword from the sheath. On the right of the slab is the fallen horse of an Amazon who has herself received her death-wound; a Greek, with a gesture indicative of pity, is lifting her off the horse. The scene recalls the legend of Achilles, who slew Penthesilea, and was smitten with remorse when he beheld the beautiful face of the dead queen.

§ 4. **The Argive School. Polycleitus.** Some years after Pheidias had completed his master-work at Elis, his younger Peloponnesian contemporary, also a pupil of Ageladas, wrought his celebrated statue of Hera, the white-armed spouse of Zeus. This statue, of gold and ivory, like the Pheidian Zeus, was placed in the temple of Hera near Argos, when it was rebuilt after the burning recorded by Thucydides in the year B.C. 422¹. Though smaller in size and less costly than the Zeus or Athena Parthenos, it is frequently mentioned by ancient writers as an object of great admiration. The site of the temple and considerable architectural remains were discovered in 1854, but of course the chryselephantine statue has utterly perished, and there remains nothing to help us to a reconstruction in imagination of the statue beyond a notice in Pausanias², who tells us that the goddess was seated on her throne with Hebe (the work of Naucydes, a pupil of Polycleitus) standing at her feet, and that she held a pomegranate-fruit in one hand and a sceptre, on which sat a cuckoo, in the other, her head was

¹ 4. 133.

² 1. 17. 4.

with a *stephanos*, adorned with representations of the Hours and the Graces. It was long supposed that the colossal head of Hera in the Ludovisi Villa, Rome, which is the most beautiful Hera-head in existence, was copied from the Hera of Polycleitus, although the ascription was nothing but a guess. If the ideal of Polycleitus is to be sought in any existing busts, it must probably be looked for in the older and stricter types, such as the 'Farnese' bust at Naples, and the 'Girgenti' head in the British Museum⁹.

Except in his statue of Hera, Polycleitus does not appear to have excelled in representations of divinities; his special merit lay in the perfection he attained in his statues of men in the prime of youth¹⁰, in regard to fineness of execution and justness of proportion. He wrote a book¹¹, now lost, about the right proportions of the human figure, and one of his statues, a Doryphoros¹² ('spear-bearer'), was called the 'canon,' because it was the embodiment of his doctrine¹³. There are copies of this, which however do not allow the determination of the exact scale of proportions adopted by Polycleitus; one is at Naples, having been found in Pompeii, another is in the Braccio Nuovo of the Vatican, wrongly restored as a diskobolos. As a kind of pendant to this statue, the model of athletic manhood, he made a youth of slighter frame binding a diadem round his head, called his 'Diadoumenos¹⁴'. There is a statue in the British Museum brought from Vaison¹⁵ in France, and a bronze statuette in the Bibliothèque Nationale of Paris, which are thought to be copies. If it is fair to judge from these copies, we should say that the Polycleitean type lacked grace and aimed rather at solidity and

⁹ Murray, i. 268 and 269. See page 108.

¹⁰ Cp. Quint. Inst. 12. 10. 7.

¹¹ According to Galen, SQ. 559.

¹² SQ. 953 foll.; Overb. I. 338; Murr. I, pl. xi; Rayet, livr. 3.

¹³ Pliny, N. H. 34-55, has 'doryphorum fecit et quem canona artifices vocant,' etc., according to the MSS., but most critics agree to omit *et*.

¹⁴ Plin. 34. 55.

¹⁵ Rayet, livr. 4: Murr. I. pl. x.

strength. They all exhibit a characteristic manner which the ancients noted in this sculptor, the resting of the weight on one leg; and this seems to imply a certain want of versatility. The term 'four-square' (*τετράγωνα*, *quadrata*) which the ancients applied to his works, seems primarily to have reference to their conformity to an exact canon of symmetrical proportion, but it is also used to distinguish his canon from the more elegant proportions introduced afterwards by Lysippus.

§ 5. **Statue of an Amazon.** There is a story in Pliny¹⁶ that Pheidias, Polycleitus, Cresilas, and Phradmon contended against each other with statues of Amazons to be placed in the temple of Artemis at Ephesus. 'It was determined to select the statue which the artists themselves, who were present at the decision, most approved, when it was evident that this was the one which each declared second-best after his own; this was the Amazon of Polycleitus, and next to it was that of Pheidias, the third that of Cresilas.' There are extant a great many antique statues of Amazons, bearing a general resemblance to one another, and archaeologists have tried, with some success, to classify the types and assign each to its supposed originator. The finest example is that called the 'Mattei' Amazon, in the Vatican. As the statue now stands the female warrior holds in her hands, the work of a restorer, the ends of a bow, but a copy on a gem teaches us that she should be leaning on a spear, while the bow was girt at her side, under the quiver. A legend which records how the Amazons, defeated and pursued by Dionysus, took refuge in the temple of the virgin goddess at Ephesus, sufficiently explains the motive of the statue. The Amazon, clothed in the short Laconian *chiton*, which hangs from one shoulder and leaves one breast bare, has dropped her shield and battle-axe, cast off her helmet, and supports her

¹⁶ N. H. 34. 53. In the 'Portfolio' for 1881 Prof. Colvin collects and distinguishes the various types of Amazons in Greek Art. See also Ov. 1. 393; Murr. 1. 277; Perr. 351.

weary steps upon her spear; her mournful features betoken her defeat. The severity of expression is characteristic of the age, and since Lucian speaks of an Amazon by Pheidias 'leaning on a spear,' it seems best to refer the original of this statue to him rather than to the Argive.

§ 6. **Paeonius. Statue of Victory**¹⁷. This statue is described here, not because it belongs properly to the Peloponnesian school, but because it was set up in Olympia, while the exact place of Paeonius in the development of the art cannot be said to be accurately determined. He was a native of Mendê in Thrace, and therefore belonged to northern colonial Hellas. The greatest painter of the age, Polygnotus of Thasos, was also a native of the north, and since his influence must have been considerable, it is supposed that the sculptors of the north, of whom Paeonius was a representative, were inclined to adopt a more picturesque manner of treatment than the solid material in which they worked would in strictness warrant. This, however, is at present only a conjecture.

Pausanias¹⁸ relates that 'those of the Messenians who once received Naupactus from the Athenians, offered a statue of Nikê in Olympia upon a pillar. It is the work of Paeonius, of Mendê, and was offered for a victory over their enemies, when they fought, I think, with the Acarnanes and Oeniadae. But the Messenians themselves say that their offering was made for their affair in the island of Sphacteria with the Athenians, and that they did not inscribe the name of their enemies through fear of the Lacedaemonians, since of the Oeniadae and Acarnanes they had no fear.' This is chiefly important because the first supposition implies an earlier date than the latter. The statue is preserved at Olympia, where it was found, together with its triangular pedestal, about nineteen feet high. On the front face of the pedestal is the inscription, 'the Messenians and Naupactians dedicated a tenth from the spoils of their enemies

¹⁷ Boetticher, Olympia. Ov. i. 414; Murr. 2, pl. xix; Perr. 239.

¹⁸ Paus. 5. 26. 1.

to Olympian Zeus. Paeonius, the Mendean, wrought it, who also won the victory for making the *akrôteria*¹⁹ for the temple.' The statue is complete with the loss of the face and part of the neck, the wings, both fore-arms, and some of the drapery. The goddess is imagined as descending through the air; her Doric chiton (like that of Iris in the Parthenon pediment) being partly open at the side, is blown back by the wind, and the outstretched left leg, thus bared of drapery, rests on a small support, scarcely visible from below; the right foot is attached to, but does not rest on, the smooth upper surface of the pillar. Below the feet projects the much mutilated head of a bird, an imaginative device for enhancing the sensation of floating in the air. The wind, acting on the dress, clearly defines the contour of the natural forms; the loose masses of drapery behind swell into a wave-like curve with a swirl at the free end. From a front view nothing can be more graceful and pleasing than this composition, with its flowing lines suggestive of breezy movement. It is not equally satisfactory from a side view, where it looks inclined to fall over, but then the loss of the wings and the uncertainty of the arrangement of the counterbalancing drapery may account for this. If, as some suppose, the goddess held in her hands the ends of a robe which passed behind her in a wide arch, the balance would be restored. It is noteworthy that from the remains in the marble it is evident that the wings must have risen erect from the top of the shoulders. There is behind her a kind of rock over which hangs a garment connected with the waist in some way difficult to explain from its mutilation.

The Victory is an embodiment of the grace of free movement and lightness on a grand scale, just as the Kanêphoros of the Erechtheum is the ideal of grace and strength united in restfulness.

¹⁹ The *akrôteria* are the ornaments placed at the ends of the roof-ridge, above the angles of the gables. In this case it is conjectured that these ornaments were likewise figures of Victories.

CHAPTER VI.

THE FOURTH CENTURY.

§ 1. **Introduction.** The Peloponnesian war had destroyed for ever the hope of a united Hellas. The idea which had floated before the mental vision of Pericles, of a willing subjection of free communities to the leadership of the one State which had proved her right to lead by her moral and intellectual and artistic pre-eminence, was shown to be impracticable. The first half of the fourth century witnesses the political supremacy, first of Sparta, then of Thebes, based upon military force. The last half witnesses the rise of the power in the north, which succeeds eventually in extinguishing the real independence of all Greek states alike. Athens retains, in the sphere of literature and art, her position as the 'School of Hellas,' which she had won in the previous century, but her art is no longer distinctively national. Athenian artists are employed by foreign powers, for example, by independent communities such as Cnidos, and by Asiatic princes such as Mausolus of Halicarnassus; Athens herself, now sunk to the rank of a second-rate power, is not in a position to furnish her artist-sons with commissions like those which employed the genius of Pheidias. Side by side with this continued development of the artistic energies of Athens, the school of Argos pursues its activity mainly in the direction given to it by Polycleitus in the fifth century. The greatest names among Athenian sculptors are Scopas and Praxiteles; among Argive, Lysippus, who eventually accepts the patronage of Alexander the Macedonian.

§ 2. **Existing Remains.** The original works are few in comparison with the previous period, and some of the archi-

tectural remains are in so mutilated a condition as to test all the skill and devotion of professed archaeologists to extract from them any truths of real importance for the history of art. Some of the chief remains are these :—

(a) The Hermes of Praxiteles, found at Olympia (cast in British Museum).

(b) Sculptures from the Mausoleum at Halicarnassus, now in the British Museum.

(c) Reliefs from the temple of Artemis at Ephesus, now in the British Museum.

(d) Frieze of the Choragic monument of Lysicrates, at Athens, still *in situ* (casts in British Museum).

(e) Friezes and statues from the so-called Nereid monument of Xanthus, in the British Museum.

To these must be added some scanty fragments of temples the sites of which have been recently explored, as that of Athena Polias at Priene, and that of Athena Alea at Tegea (on which Scopas was employed)¹; probably a statue of Demeter, found by Mr. C. T. Newton at Cnidos, the style of which harmonises with the present period²; and many Athenian grave-monuments, the work of ordinary handicraftsmen, yet showing considerable technical skill combined with grace of design and much tender feeling. One of the finest of these, the funeral monument of Dexileos, an Athenian knight, who fell in the Corinthian War (B.C. 394), represents a warrior on horseback riding over a fallen foe.

§ 3. **Copies.** There are, besides, many statues of which the originals can be certainly referred to sculptors of this period. Of these the chief is the row of statues representing Niobê and her children, now at Florence. At Munich is a group of Eirênê ('Peace') carrying the infant Ploutos ('Wealth'), by Cephisodotus, father of Praxiteles. The 'Apollo Sauroctonos' and 'Faun' of Praxiteles belong to this category, and there are

¹ Journal of Hell. Studies, vol. vii. No. 1.

² See page 105.

many statues scattered throughout the galleries of Europe which plainly owe their inspiration to Praxitelean ideas and methods, though no external evidence exists of such a connexion. Lysippus is represented by an athlete statue called 'Apoxyomenos' (Vatican, Rome), while certain statues of Alexander are doubtfully attributed to him. Works by minor sculptors are the 'Tyche (Fortune) of Antioch' by Eutychides (Vatican), 'Ganymede and the Eagle' by Leochares (Vatican), and possibly the 'Boy with Goose' and 'Boy extracting a thorn' by Boethus (Louvre and elsewhere).

Some very fine portrait-statues, as those of Demosthenes (Vatican), and Sophocles (Lateran Museum, Rome), may be doubtfully assigned here.

§ 4. **Characteristics.** The characteristic note of the Pheidian age is ideal grandeur; the note of the Praxitelean age is ideal beauty. Sculpture is still nominally the handmaid of religion, and seeks to represent the gods and their actions, as revealed in mythology. But with Pheidias, the religious idea is made the vehicle for the expression of some great national sentiment; with Praxiteles and his school it is made the vehicle for the realisation of the highest type of human beauty which man can conceive. In fact, the Greek mind had outgrown its primitive beliefs, and the old mythologies could not be accepted as literally true, nor could their sculptors any more carve the images of the gods with a simple trust in their wonder-working power. More and more strongly were they attracted by the elements of beauty which the old creeds contained, and more and more eagerly did they try to evoke these. For the artist, the worship of the gods came insensibly to be the worship of beauty. Though productive of splendid results, it was a one-sided view, and it inevitably tended to divest religion of its moral and spiritual significance. This accounts for the antagonism of the philosophers, represented by Plato, to art. Plato, in the spirit of the Protestant Reformers, seeking to disengage

the spiritual elements of the ancient creed, insisted that the artists degraded men's conceptions by dwelling exclusively on its material aspects. He did not feel that art might be an independent factor in human life, and that this was what, in fact, it was striving to become. He only felt, and felt truly, that art could not become this and remain faithful to her former service, as the handmaid of religion. She must seek, and did seek, an independent life. More and more from this time onward does sculpture cease in any spiritual sense to be religious. Art does not seek to set forward the moral significance of the old myths, but uses them as material wherewith to clothe her own creations of ideally beautiful forms.

Sculptors began to attend also more closely to the expression of emotions, and chose by preference subjects which lent themselves to the display of feeling. According to the Greek expression, sculpture becomes *pathetic*, and tries to impress the beholder with various emotions, not merely the refined sentiment of tender sorrow (the sense which the word *pathetic* usually bears now) but any *pathos* or affection of the mind—love, joy, anger, fear, and the like. This change of aim finds its parallel in the development of Greek tragedy, only there the stages were passed through in a shorter space of time. Aeschylus conceives tragedy as the struggle between divine or semi-divine powers, or of human passions against superhuman forces; Euripides as the interaction of passions purely human. Thus Euripides :—

‘ The human,
With his droppings of warm tears,
And his touches of things common,
Till they rose to touch the spheres—’³

is called ‘ the most tragic ’ of the poets, because he appeals most directly to our natural sympathies, whereas Aeschylus takes us out of ourselves and lifts us above the level of the common daily life around us by the grandeur of his imagination.

³ E. B. Browning, ‘ Wine of Cyprus.’

§ 5. **Praxiteles.** Among the names of Greek sculptors, that of Praxiteles stood next to that of Pheidias, as the most widely celebrated in antiquity. He was an Athenian, son of Cephisodotus, himself a sculptor of repute, and the period of his activity falls in the middle of the fourth century. Ancient authors give us much trivial gossip, but few attested facts about him. He seems to have lived and worked chiefly at Athens, where, however, his artistic activity remained untouched by the course of political events; whether he sympathised with the efforts of Demosthenes to re-awaken the old Athenian spirit of independence, we cannot tell; only we do not hear that he lent his genius to the service of the new Macedonian power, which could attract men like Aristotle, Lysippus, and Apelles.

Of the more extensive works of Praxiteles, such as the pedimental compositions for a temple of Heracles, at Thebes, we know nothing beyond some not undisputed notices in Pausanias. It is certain that he won his fame by single statues, and two of these, a statue of Aphrodite (Venus) at Cnidos, and a statue of Eros (Cupid) at Thespiae, were exceedingly celebrated in antiquity. His statue of Aphrodite, at Cnidos, drew many visitors to the town in Roman times, and was, in fact, its sole claim to distinction⁴. The design of the statue is imperfectly known from some rude Cnidian coins⁵; the goddess was nude, holding the end of her robe in her left hand, as though laying it aside before entering the sea, her native element. Another draped Aphrodite, from Praxiteles' hand, at Cos, had been preferred by the Coans to the nude figure, so the story was, when they were given priority of choice. A statue in the Vatican is held to be the nearest copy of the Praxitelean original⁶. Aphrodite is here dropping

⁴ Plin. N. H. 36. 20-22; Overbeck, *SQ.* 1230-1240, gives the allusions in Lucian, and the epigrams from the Anthology.

⁵ Gardner's *Types of Greek Coins*, pl. xv. 21; D. A. K. i, pl. 35, No. 146 a.

⁶ A cast of it has recently been placed in the South Kensington Museum of Antiques.

her robe over a vase of beautiful shape, and looks down ; another smaller copy, with an upward and less harmonious inclination of the head, is at Munich ⁷.

Next to the statue of Aphrodite in celebrity, were certain statues of Eros (Cupid); one especially famed was brought from its place of dedication, Thespiae, to Rome ; restored by Claudius, and again stolen by Nero, it perished in a fire at Rome. Of the numerous Eros statues still extant, there is no one which can with any certainty be set down as the design of Praxiteles. The best known Eros statue is that called the 'Centocelle' Cupid, or the 'Genius of the Vatican;' the arms and legs are gone ; the head shows a face of singularly soft and melancholy beauty.

In default of any attested copies of these two, there remain three statues, which must form the basis of our estimate of Praxiteles. These are, the Hermes, the sole original work ; the statue of Apollo, called 'Sauroctonos;' and the 'Faun;' the last two exist only in copies. But certain statues may be called into consideration later, as showing in marked characteristics the influence of the genius of this master, the greatest exponent of the artistic tendencies of the period.

§ 6. **The Hermes of Olympia**⁸. In his account of the temple of Hera, at Olympia, the antiquary Pausanias⁹ records

⁷ The long celebrated Venus de' Medici at Florence is one of many variations, probably executed in Roman times, of a type which, under imperial patronage, passed through several stages of degradation. Several very beautiful and graceful Venus statues, as the 'Townley' Venus (Guide to Graeco-Roman Sculptures, pt. i, No. 136) of the British Museum, and the 'Capuan' Venus (D. A. K. ii, pl. 25, No. 268) at Naples, differ essentially in type, nor have we any warrant for referring them to Praxitelean inspiration; the imperial, truly divine beauty and commanding aspect of the Venus (Ib. No. 270) from Melos in the Louvre exhibits a more exalted ideal than all the rest; this, too, cannot be referred to Praxiteles.

⁸ Ov. 2. frontispiece; Redf. 171 (without child's head); Murr. 2, pl. xx.

⁹ 5. 17. 3.

how 'they afterwards dedicated other statues in the temple of Hera, as a marble Hermes, who carries the infant Dionysus, the design (τέχνη) of Praxiteles.' The discovery of this statue in 1877 was one of the happiest results of the enterprise and liberality of the Germans, who excavated the entire site of Olympia between the years 1875 and 1881. The statue, especially the head, has since become widely known through casts and photographs. The legend was this: After the birth of Dionysus, child of Zeus and his 'thunder-blasted' bride Semele, daughter of Cadmus, he was committed to the charge of Hermes, to be carried to the nymphs of Nysa, there to be reared under their fostering care. Praxiteles has chosen the moment when the god stops to rest, leaning his left arm, which carries the child, upon a tree-trunk; the child sits upon a robe which hangs from this arm over the trunk, and puts his little hand upon the god's shoulder. The lower part of both legs of Hermes is lost, as well as the upper right arm, and the thumb and forefinger of the left hand; both the arms of the child are gone, while the torso and head are somewhat damaged. One foot of Hermes, with a bronze sandal, is preserved. The leaning position of the god, by which the body is thrown into a graceful, easy curve, appears to have been a favourite manner of Praxiteles, just as the resting of the weight of the body on one leg was a favourite manner of Polycleitus. In the left hand the god doubtless held the *caduceus*, or herald's staff, the breaking away of which caused the loss of the thumb and finger. How the right arm was occupied it is difficult to say; the most simple supposition is that it held a bunch of grapes for the child to look at; others have suggested a thyrsus, a wine-cup, and even a rattle. The head of Hermes is perfect, and the expression wonderfully beautiful. He does not look directly at the child, but past him, as though turning his face towards him from the object he holds in his right hand. He does not smile; the sculptor knew his art too well; a smile would have destroyed that sense of repose which must characterise any object on which the eye is meant to rest a long time

with undiminished pleasure; it would have stereotyped that which in nature is momentary and evanescent. And yet we feel that the next moment those lips will break into a smile; such is their indefinably subtle expression; in that half-tender, half-playful gaze we seem to read the kindly nature of the 'guileless' god¹⁰, and share the impulse which prompts the child to put his hand on his bearer's shoulder, in full assurance of his loving sympathy and protecting care. This perfect balance, this union of feeling with reserve, of tenderness with force, of the fleeting with the restful, is the supreme achievement of the plastic art, and may help us to understand more completely than any words what is meant by that sense of harmony, which it was given to the Greeks to feel and realise more than any other nation which has produced works of art. It is in the calm beauty of the face of Hermes that we shall learn, moreover, to understand the judgment passed by an ancient critic¹¹, that while Pheidias was admirable above all others for his statues in ivory, the supreme merit of Praxiteles lay in his power of infusing into stone the feelings of the soul.

§ 7. **The Apollo Sauroctonos**¹². Pliny¹³ tells us that Praxiteles made a bronze statue of 'a youthful Apollo aiming with an arrow in his hand at a creeping lizard; this, men call the *Lizard-killer* (quem sauroctonon vocant).' Martial¹⁴ also alludes to it in an epigram:—

'Ad te reptanti, puer insidiose, lacertae
Parce; cupit digitis ille perire tuis.'

Many copies are extant, of which the chief are a marble statue

¹⁰ 'Ἐρμῆας ἀκάκητα, Od. 24. 10. He is also called ἐριούνιος, the 'helper,' Il. 20. 72; Ar. Ran. 1144.

¹¹ Diodorus Siculus. The words are Πραξιτέλης ὁ καταμήξας ἄκρω τοῖς λιθίνοις ἔργοις τὰ τῆς ψυχῆς πάθη.

¹² Rayet, Mon. de l'Art. Ant., livr. 2, gives all three copies. Ov. 2. 36; Murr. 2, pl. xxii; Perr. 433; Redf. 220.

¹³ N. H. 34. 70.

¹⁴ 14. 172. 'Spare, cunning boy, the lizard that creeps towards thee; it desires to die by thy hand.'

in the Louvre, another in the Vatican, and a bronze statuette in the Villa Albani at Rome. These three differ in detail, especially in the expression of the head and arrangement of the hair, but they agree sufficiently in pose to enable us to form some estimate of the original work of Praxiteles.

Apollo is a slight, boyish figure, leaning his extended arm upon a tree-trunk, the branches of which serve as a support. His right hand originally held an arrow, and his face is turned downwards towards the trunk, watching the motions of the lizard which darts about it. The weight of the body is thrown upon the leaning left arm and the right leg, and thus the lines of the form curve away from the tree-trunk, the inconvenient size and clumsiness of which are thus in a measure compensated for. As a study of an exceedingly graceful pose the statue merits admiration, and if we are content to enjoy the contemplation of it solely from that point of view, it seems as if the artist's purpose has been fulfilled. A happy situation is cleverly realised, and that is all. Whether the god is trying, as the name implies, to kill the lizard, or whether he is simply watching with amusement the quick-darting little creature, and holds the arrow as the proper attribute of the Archer God, does not greatly matter. But when we feel that for a Greek the representation of so noble a god as Apollo ought to have inspired some deeper feelings, and seek for some suggestion of divinity in the statue, we are at a loss. It is not even known that the lizard bore any relation to the worship of Apollo, though soothsayers professed to draw conclusions from observing it, so that it had an indirect connexion with the god of prophecy. It is an ingenious thought that the motive is a survival, through gradual elimination of the portentous elements of the story, of that legend which made Apollo the slayer of the dragon Python. But of the grandeur of that myth, so powerfully conceived by our own Turner in his great picture¹⁵, as the contest between the powers of light and darkness, there is here not a trace, and the suggestion consequently fails to supply an

¹⁵ In the National Gallery.

adequate explanation of the motive, which remains, so long as we bear the godhead in mind, an enigma. It is instructive to contrast the Praxitelean Apollo with the god as conceived by Alcamenes in the west pediment of the temple of Olympian Zeus. As there portrayed, in spite of archaic stiffness and the want of finish in the execution, the massive figure of the god impresses the beholder with a sense of divine power utterly foreign to the conception of Praxiteles, with all its grace. It would not be fair, considering our limited knowledge of Praxiteles, on the strength of this Roman copy to deny that he was capable of combining grandeur with grace, as Pheidias did; but this may be asserted with confidence, that a statue like the Lizard-killer, in which the element of power is altogether left out, would have been impossible in the preceding century.

§ 8. **The Satyr or Faun**¹⁶. The best-known example of this statue is in the Capitol at Rome. The reasons for attributing the work to the design of Praxiteles are mainly these: first, the many copies of it existing point to a very celebrated original; secondly, general consent has recognised that the statue is worthy of Praxiteles, and exhibits those characteristics of style which we have learnt to associate with his name.

Praxiteles made several Satyr-statues, one of which, Pausanias¹⁷ tells us, stood in the street of Tripods at Athens, where it probably formed part of the memorial of some successful *choregus*. Pliny¹⁸ likewise mentions a famous Satyr by Praxiteles, which he says was called 'Periboetos' ('famous'), but this seems to have formed part of a group.

The Satyr before us is conceived as a young man, leaning one elbow idly upon the trunk of a tree and resting the other hand upon his hips; across his body lies the panther-skin which he wears as a follower of Dionysus. His pointed ears mark his half-animal nature. A being standing below man in the scale of intellect, yet raised above him by his natural powers, his instinc-

¹⁶ Ov. 2. 41; Murr. 2. 252; Perr. 438; Redf. 231.

¹⁷ 1. 20. 1.

¹⁸ N. H. 34. 69.

tive sympathy with all forms of natural life,—a woodland creature, devoid of men's anxieties, never hearing the 'sad music of humanity,' free from evil because ignorant of it, loving ease because his wants are few and simple, a soul for ever carelessly happy—this is one of the most poetic creations of antiquity. The simple imagination of the ancients peopled the woods and lonely places with these half-human, half-animal beings. 'Such are the places,' says Lucretius¹⁹, rationalising the belief as a philosopher, yet sympathising with its beauty as a poet—'Such are the places which dwellers-round feign to be inhabited by goat-footed satyrs and nymphs, and they tell of fauns by whose night-wandering noise and mirthful sport they say that everywhere the quiet silence is broken and sounds of stringed instruments and sweet laments arise, which the pipe pours forth, struck by the fingers of the players²⁰.'

§ 9. **Scopas and the Mausoleum.** Scopas was born in the island of Paros, but ranks with the school of Athens, where he spent a considerable part of his life. He was somewhat older than Praxiteles, who is supposed to have been influenced in a certain degree by him. Certainly they represented similar tendencies, since the ancients hesitated to which of the two certain statues, especially the group of Niobe, ought to be assigned. Scopas was architect as well as sculptor, and built and adorned the temple of Athena at Tegea, of the sculptures of which a few fragments were recently found; the subject was the hunting of the Caledonian boar. Of many works attributed to him, one or two are especially noteworthy, as an Apollo, originally set up in the temple of Nemesis at Rhamnus in Attica, afterwards removed by Augustus to his great library on the Palatine. A statue in the Vatican²¹, Apollo clothed in a long sweeping robe with voluminous folds, and playing upon the lyre, found

¹⁹ iv. 580 (Munro's translation).

²⁰ A sympathetic description of the Faun may be read in N. Hawthorne's 'Transformation,' the opening chapter.

²¹ D. A. K. i, pl. 32, No. 141 a., Smith's Greece, p. 551.

together with many statues of Muses in the Villa of Cassius at Tivoli, is supposed by some to be a copy of this. Others are a Bacchante, a marble work into which Scopas seemed to have breathed a frenzy equal to that inspired by the god himself; a seated Ares, which has been identified without any foundation with the noble statue²² in the Ludovisi Villa; and a group, afterwards placed in the Circus Flaminius at Rome, of Neptune and Thetis and Achilles, Nereids riding upon dolphins and hippocamps and other marine creatures—'a splendid work,' says Pliny, 'even if it had occupied his whole life.' Finally, he was one of the sculptors employed upon the Mausoleum.

Mausolus, prince of Caria in the middle of the fourth century, figures in Lucian's 'Dialogues of the Dead' as a type of regal magnificence. 'The sepulchre called the Mausoleum,' according to the account of Pliny²³, 'was erected by Artemisia to her husband Mausolus, who died in the second year of the 107th Olympiad (B.C. 350). That this work is reckoned one of the seven wonders of the world is due mainly to these artists,' viz. Scopas, and his contemporary rivals, Bryaxis, Timotheus, and Leochares. 'Scopas wrought the sculptures on the eastern side, Bryaxis on the north, Timotheus on the south, and Leochares on the west. The queen died before they finished, but they did not abandon the work until it was completed, thinking it was a memorial of their own fame and artistic skill, and even to-day their handiwork still contends for the mastery. There was a fifth artist besides; for on the top of the colonnade is a pyramid equal in height to the one below (i.e. the basement), with twenty-four steps running up into the form of a cone; and on the top of this is a marble chariot, made by Pythis.' It is believed that the monument was still standing in the twelfth century A.D., when it was apparently thrown down by an earthquake. In the fourteenth century the Knights of St. John occupied the promontory of Budrum, near the ancient Halicarnassus, capital of Caria, and in 1522 built a great castle there, using much of the material of

²² D. A. K. ii, pl. 23, No. 250.

²³ N. H. 36. 30.

the Mausoleum. The history of the recovery began in 1846, when Lord Stratford de Redcliffe brought to England some slabs of the frieze which had been built into the castle walls. Subsequently the site of the Mausoleum itself was discovered and excavated by Mr. C. T. Newton, when many more slabs of the frieze were unearthed, together with the statue of Mausolus himself, a female statue, perhaps Artemisia, or the charioteer of Mausolus, a piece of the chariot-wheel, the head and fore-quarters of a gigantic horse, another torso of a colossal horse with a rider in Persian costume, and a great many smaller fragments, some of remarkable beauty, all of which may be seen in the British Museum. One more slab of the frieze was afterwards recovered from Genoa, where it had probably been carried from the castle of St. John at some earlier period.

The figures of Mausolus and Artemisia²⁴ are executed on a grand scale, about nine feet high; it is generally supposed that they stood in the chariot at the top of the pyramid, though this has been disputed. Treated with a breadth and massiveness corresponding to their great size, these figures wear an aspect of simple yet commanding dignity, an effect which is enhanced by heavy drapery disposed in lines of strong contrast, intended to arrest the eye of the distant beholder. The face of the prince, very broad in proportion to its length, the lips and chin covered with short beard, with hair rising in long locks pushed straight back from the broad forehead, has a careworn expression, but is almost rugged in its strength.

There were two, perhaps three, lines of sculptured frieze, and one of these, to which most of the extant slabs belong, deals with the same subject as part of the Phigalian frieze, a fight between Greeks and Amazons. Some remains of colour were found, which show that the ground was a dark blue, the flesh a dull red, while various colours were employed on the drapery, and probably metal work was added. As compared with the

²⁴ Ov. 2. 72; Perr. 405. Specimens of the Frieze, Ov. 2. 77 (especially fig. 111, a, b, and c); Murr. 2, pl. xxv, xxvi; Perr. 410.

Phigalian reliefs, the present exhibit several marked differences. These are flatter; the heads do not reach to the top of the slab as in the older composition; there is less interlacing of groups, the spaces between figure and figure are wider, and the lines of the composition have consequently a more equable flow, are more purely decorative, in short; the individual forms of the warriors, both male and female, are more slenderly built, and designed less with a view to truth of nature than gracefulness to the eye, an effect which not unfrequently results in weakness. At the same time the spectator may observe a striving after originality and novel attitudes and combinations which ends in positive ungracefulness. When we consider the number of times this subject meets us in the course of the study of Greek art, it seems strange that the Greeks, with all their inventiveness and originality, should have been willing to confine these within such narrow limits. Instead of the creation of new forms of expression and new types, they deliberately preferred infinite variations upon well-worn themes. We find the same limitations prevailing also in Greek dramatic literature. Again, it seems strange that the Parthenon frieze should not have taught artists that a scene in itself possessing length, as a procession, was more suitable for representation on a frieze than a scene of complex and intricate grouping like a battle. A continuous succession of more or less detached groups has a monotonous and unreal appearance.

It seems likely that the great artists employed themselves upon the larger subjects, and left the minor to subordinates. Hence we cannot accept these reliefs as an adequate representation of the work of Scopas and the others, though they may have supplied the designs.

The Genoese slab is one of the best preserved and most dramatically interesting. An Amazon wearing the Phrygian cap has just forced a Greek upon his knee; he supports himself upon his shield while with his right arm he endeavours to ward off her blow. As a counterpart to this group, on the

spectator's right, a Greek has seized an Amazon by the hair and is aiming a blow at her breast with his sword. She kneels before him pleading for mercy, with one hand stretched towards his beard, the other touching his knee, in the attitude of supplication so commonly alluded to by Homer. Behind him, forming the centre of the slab, an Amazon comes to the rescue of her sister and is dealing a blow with a battle-axe.

In another curious group, an Amazon sits upon her horse with her face to his tail, and while her horse gallops forward she seems to be shooting her arrows behind. On the right a helmeted Greek is shrinking back from the impending blow of an Amazon, who has grasped the rim of his shield and thrusts it aside to get a fair stroke. The Amazons, it has been remarked²⁶, are veritable Furies in attack, but in defeat their woman-nature prevails, and they beg piteously for their lives.

§ 10. **The Group of Niobê and her Children**²⁶. Pliny²⁷ tells us that the ancients themselves were unable to decide whether the group of Niobê with her dying children, which adorned the temple of Apollo Sosianus in Rome and had been probably brought thither by C. Sosius (legate of Antonius in Syria and Cilicia, B.C. 38) from some Asiatic town, was the work of Scopas or of Praxiteles. Without attempting to solve this question, we perceive that the group illustrates in a remarkable manner the peculiar tendencies of the age of which these two artists were the most distinguished representatives. The series of statues was discovered in Rome near the Lateran church in 1583, and now stands in the Uffizi Gallery at Florence. Other fragments, elsewhere extant, have since been identified by archaeologists as belonging to the group, especially a headless and armless figure of the second daughter of Niobê, in the

²⁵ Friederichs, *Bausteine*, p. 275.

²⁶ *Ov.* 2. 52, fig. 104, 105, 106; *Perr.* 414. The Brit. Mus. disk in *Murr.* 1, pl. xxix.

²⁷ *N. H.* 36. 28.

Vatican, the flowing drapery of which is carved with a depth and precision far superior to the quality of execution shown in the Florentine copy. When set side by side, the figures seem to arrange themselves naturally in a pyramidal form suitable for insertion in the pediment of a temple, and though this scheme has been fiercely disputed, no other really convincing plan has been suggested. There is a marble disk in the British Museum²⁸ in which the figures, copied from the original group, are carved in relief on a series of terraces representing a hill-side ; on the summit are Apollo and Artemis. This arrangement, suitable for relief, would hardly be applicable to a series of figures in the round.

We first meet with the Niobê legend in the twenty-fourth Iliad. Niobê, daughter of Tantalus and wife of Amphion, filled with pride at the sight of her six stalwart sons and six beauteous daughters, dared to challenge comparison with Lêtô (Latona), goddess-mother of Apollo and Artemis, and openly scorned her as the mother of two only, herself the mother of twelve ; Lêtô's children take a fearful vengeance, and slay her sons and daughters with their arrows—

‘So by the two were all the many slain.’

Niobê herself is turned to stone and still abides in Sipylus amid the rocks, brooding over the wrongs inflicted by the gods. A rocky shape, rudely resembling a weeping woman, on the lonely heights of Sipylus—whether natural or of human workmanship is still disputed by modern travellers—still survives to localise the legend.

The group consists of a row of figures, sons and daughters, falling under the pitiless arrows of the Sun-god and Moon-goddess. On the left of Niobê one daughter, wounded in the neck, is just sinking helplessly to the ground ; a second starts forward to support her ; here is a brother who sustains with one arm a dying sister, while with his robe wound round the other

²⁸ General Guide to the Galleries, p. 46.

he wards off the speeding arrow ; one youth still unwounded turns to fly ; another kneels and grasps at the arrow in his back. On the right, the *paedagogus* is endeavouring to shelter the youngest boy ; another is flying down the hill ; the next kneels and turns a defiant look upwards ; the last is stretched upon the ground.

But the centre and crown of the whole is the figure of Niobé herself. With her right arm thrown round a little daughter who has sunk upon her knees at her feet and clasps her mother with a gesture of terror, she stoops forward to shield her. She has caught up her dress to run to the protection of her child, and its flowing folds are still agitated with the speed of her movement. As we gaze upon the upturned face, a study of pathetic expression, in which sorrow and majestic beauty are powerfully blended, we become conscious of the struggle for mastery between contending emotions ; we feel how the queen's pride,

‘ that fixed mind,

And high disdain from sense of injured merit ²⁹ ;

that raised her to contend with the gods, is striving to subdue and keep under the natural anguish of the mother. Her upward glance betrays no weak faltering, no confession of unworthiness, no pleading for pity ; yet in the contracting eyebrows and swelling throat, in the eyelids and lips that seem to quiver even in the marble, we read the mental anguish she is enduring. Thus sorrow is tempered by majesty. The statue is an embodiment of the idea of Greek tragedy ; the sense of terror at punishment for impiety is chastened by pity for the suffering of a noble nature.

§ II. **Sculptures from the Temple of Artemis at Ephesus**³⁰. In B.C. 356, the old Temple of Artemis (Diana) at Ephesus was burnt by Herostratus, and works were at once set on foot for restoration. The new temple was nearly finished soon

²⁹ Milton, P. L. 1. 97.

³⁰ Ov. 2. 97 ; Rayet, livr. 7.

after the accession of Alexander, whose offer to furnish the cost of completion on condition of being permitted to dedicate it, was refused. This temple is that which is connected with the episode in St. Paul's life narrated in the Acts. Its site was discovered and partially excavated by Mr. Wood a few years ago, and more complete excavations have been recently undertaken. One peculiarity of the ancient temple, its *columnae caelatae*,—pillars with the lowest drums sculptured in relief,—was adhered to in the new foundation, which had a series of Ionic columns, the lowest cylindrical drums of which were decorated with sculpture. Several of these bases are to be seen in the British Museum.

One of them possesses peculiar interest from its connexion with one of the most pathetic stories of Greek tragedy, the subject of the best-known of the plays of Euripides, the story of Alcestis. The sculptor's manner of telling the story naturally differs from the poet's, who makes Heracles recover Alcestis from Thanatos (Death) by force, after she has devoted herself to save the life of her husband Admetus. Of the circular band of this relief one whole figure remains (Hermes), three are nearly entire (Persephonê, Alcestis, Thanatos), a fifth is reduced to a half (Hades), and there is a fragmentary trace of a sixth (Heracles). The scene is placed in the lower world. Hades (on the spectator's right) is seated; before him stands Persephonê; next comes Hermes Psychopompos, 'conductor of souls,' easily identified by his *caduceus* and the *petasos* hanging from his neck; next to him is Alcestis, whose head, like that of Persephonê, has been broken off; next an enigmatical figure wearing large wings and a sword hanging by a belt, commonly believed to be Thanatos. Beyond him must have stood Heracles. The gods of the nether world have yielded to the demand of Heracles, and Hermes, with upturned face already seeking the regions of the air, is about to lead Alcestis thither; she gathers up her robe to follow him; Death moves aside as if relinquishing his claim. This last is one of the most striking *figures of antiquity*, and if he is really Death, the explanation of

his impersonation must be this. So great was the Greek love of beauty and desire to banish from sight all that was ugly and repulsive, that the sculptor has not merely divested Death of his terrors, but even represented him under the form of a beautiful youth. So in the Greek grave-monuments we find an expression of tender sorrow, not of violent grief. Whatever may have been their emotions in the actual presence of Death, their artistic sense required that the permanent expression of them should be calm and reserved.

§ 12. **Lysippus. The Apoxyomenos³¹ or Athlete cleaning himself.** Lysippus, a native of Sicyon, but connected with the school of sculpture which had its centre at Argos, and making the traditions of Polycleitus the basis of a new development of art, was one of the most prolific sculptors of antiquity; yet the changes which he introduced are known to us rather from the statements of ancient critics and the effects observable in works subsequent to his time, than from existing monuments which can be positively assigned to him. A few of his most celebrated creations, known to us in the main by report only, may be mentioned. There was a colossal statue of Zeus at Tarentum³², balanced in an ingenious way, so that while a child's hand could move it, it could not be overthrown by the force of any storm. For Tarentum he also made a Heracles³³, sitting in a dejected attitude and lamenting his hard life, afterwards removed to Rome by Fabius Maximus, conqueror of Tarentum, and thence in later years to Constantinople. Another Heracles, called 'Epitrapezios,' is the subject of epigrams by Martial³⁴ and Statius from its strange history; it passed from Alexander to Hannibal, from Hannibal to Sulla, to repose at last in the villa of the Roman Nonius Vindex. A Hêlios³⁵ and four-horse chariot were brought from Rhodes to Rome and there gilded

³¹ Rayet, livr. 4; Ov. 2. 122; Redf. 221; Perr. 487.

³² Pliny, N. H. 34. 40.

³³ Ibid.; see Overbeck, SQ. 1468 foll.

³⁴ Mart. 9. 44; Stat. Silv. 4. 6. 32 foll.

³⁵ Pliny, N. H. 34. 63.

by Nero's command; but the value of the precious metal could not compensate the loss of the beauty of the statue, so the gold was removed, and the restored work, in spite of the injury done to its surface, regained in a measure its former worth³⁶. An allegorical representation of Kairos, 'Occasion,' poised on tip-toe, with winged feet, and wearing all his locks in front, furnished another theme for epigrammatists. Finally Lysippus was chosen by Alexander as his court sculptor³⁷, and executed many commissions for him. We hear of single portrait-statues of Alexander, and his friend Hephaestion, and of groups, with the monarch as centre, such as the group of the officers who fell at the Granicus, all portraits (this work was brought by Metellus to Rome on the subjugation of Macedonia), and the royal hunting-party, set up at Delphi, and so on³⁸. It should be added that Lysippus appears to have worked exclusively in bronze.

One example of his style remains in the statue called 'Apoxymenos' or 'Athlete scraping himself with a strigil,' in the Vatican. It is a marble copy of a bronze original, but is allowed by competent critics to be a faithful reproduction. The youthful athlete has just undergone the severe labours of the palaestra, and is in the full enjoyment of the physical satisfaction which hard exercise brings to a healthy and vigorous frame; a momentary pause lets the genial glow of animated vigour course through his elastic and firmly knit limbs. It is a picture of one born to take simple delight in animal health and activity, in the 'joys of mere living,' when 'not a muscle is stopped in its playing nor sinew unbraced³⁹.' Those who are fortunate enough to see it where it stands in the Vatican, will scarcely fail to be struck by the contrast between it and the 'Demosthenes' close by, the type of a great soul in a feeble body. The original bronze was set up by Marcus Agrippa before the public baths

³⁶ The reading in Pliny is doubtful; as the text anciently stood, it was a statue of Alexander which was served in this way.

³⁷ Horace, *Epist.* 2. 1. 240 foll.

³⁸ Overbeck, *SQ.* 1479-1491.

³⁹ Browning, *Saul*.

he built at Rome. The emperor Tiberius conceived such an admiration for it that he carried it away into his private house, whereupon the populace raised a tumult in the theatre, so that, in spite of his desire to possess it, he was compelled to put it back.

With this statue before us, the critical judgment of Pliny⁴⁰ upon Lysippus becomes admirably clear, so much so that it might seem to have been framed upon a contemplation of this very statue⁴¹. He says that Lysippus contributed much in the rendering of the hair (this may refer to that rather theatrical, mane-like treatment of the hair which may be noticed in busts of Alexander), and by his making the heads smaller than more ancient sculptors, the bodies more slender and elastic, their apparent height was magnified. 'There is no Latin term,' he continues, 'for the *symmetria* which he diligently cultivated in an original manner, by modifying the *square* statures of the ancients. He said that while they made men as they were, he made them as they appear to be. Peculiar to him also appears to be that minuteness of finish observed in the smallest details.' In other words, he invented a new canon of proportion. He 'took the canon of Polycleitus as his master⁴²,' or rather as a model to start with, and for the naturally just proportions of the human body, formulated according to the investigations of Polycleitus, he substituted new proportions based upon his sense of the effectively beautiful in form. Where Polycleitus had aimed at what was truthful in fact, he aimed at what was effective in appearance. Thus Polycleitus' canon of *squareness*, that is, of symmetrical proportion, based upon actual observation and

⁴⁰ N. H. 34. 6.

⁴¹ The statue is restored with a die in the right hand, the result of a curious mistranslation of Plin. N. H. 34. 55, where he says Polycleitus made two statues—'fecit et destringentem se,' i.e. ἀπογυόμενον, 'et nudum talo incessentem,' i.e. ἀπορρεπίζοντα, a wrestler practising a particular fall. The statue when found was taken as a work of Polycleitus, Pliny's epithets confounded together and misunderstood, as if they meant 'an *apoxyomenos* walking with a die!' Such are the dangers of restoration.

⁴² Cic. Brut. 86. 296.

measurement, with a view of getting at the mean or average type, received a new development at his hands. That he exceeded all his predecessors in finish, can hardly be accepted as true by us, with the marbles of the Parthenon before us. It may, however, have been true in regard to bronze-work, his own special study.

The existing portrait-busts of Alexander are numerous, but there is no one which we can definitely set down as the work of Lysippus. The most noticeable are (1) a bust in the Louvre, which is inscribed with Alexander's name, and is chiefly important as enabling us to identify other likenesses; in itself it is formal, without the stamp of individuality; (2) a splendid bust in the Capitol at Rome, long taken for Hêlios the Sun-god; far superior to the first in artistic merit, it yet strikes the beholder as a 'made-up' likeness; (3) the bust in the British Museum found at Alexandria⁴³; though the unfortunately corroded surface has an unpleasant effect to the eye, it bears an appearance of probable truthfulness, being less cold than the first, less mannered than the second.

⁴³ General Catalogue, p. 48; Murray, 2, pl. xxxii.

CHAPTER VII.

FROM THE DEATH OF ALEXANDER TO THE ESTABLISHMENT OF ROMAN SUPREMACY.

§ 1. **Introduction.** The reduction of the leading states of Greece proper to the position of second-rate powers, seems to have involved the loss of creative genius in art. In the first years of the third century Athens could still boast great poets and distinguished philosophers; there Menander and Poseidippus represented the New Comedy of manners, Zeno and Epicurus upheld rival systems of philosophy. But when the immediate influence of Praxiteles passed, though doubtless there must have been a succession of skilled workers in marble capable of fulfilling the commissions of private wealth and taste, there arose no genius of the highest order, nor indeed was there any national enterprise in art capable of calling it into play. Pliny¹ says, after enumerating the bronze-workers of the 121st Olympiad (B.C. 296), 'the art then ceased, and again came to life in the 156th Olympiad (B.C. 156), when there were men of merit, though far inferior to those before mentioned.' This seems to be an exaggerated statement—the bronze colossus of Rhodes, for instance, was made by Chares between the years B.C. 292 and B.C. 280—but it may have been true of Greece proper. Almost the only monuments of national importance which we hear of are the marble statues and groups erected by the Aetolians at Patrae and Delphi² to commemorate the part they played in averting a terrible disaster from Greece, their defeat of the invading Gauls about B.C. 279-8. With these

¹ N. H. 34. 51.

² Paus. 7. 10. 6, 10. 15. 2, 10. 16. 4, 10. 18. 7.

monuments a celebrated work, the Apollo Belvedere, has been connected, upon very slight evidence³.

But the conquests of Alexander carried the Greek language, and with it Greek literature and art, over all the shores of the eastern Mediterranean. Alexandria became the home of encyclopaedic learning, and the foster-mother of the latest birth of the Greek Muse. The creative impulse in art, denied to the mother-country, quickened into life in other lands, especially at Pergamum and Rhodes. At Pergamum, under the patronage of a Macedonian sovereign, a desire for the products of art was called forth by a great national victory; in Rhodes, it was fostered by the consciousness of greatness in the citizens of the one Greek state which remained at once independent and powerful, and had leisure to pursue self-culture. We can hardly doubt that other art-centres were formed about this time; Alexandria, for instance, must have become one such under the Ptolemies. But here our information is deficient, and we are compelled to limit our attention to the art of Pergamum and the art of Rhodes, as summing up nearly all that is known of the period.

With the art of this period must be classed the Samothracian Victory, a monument in the Louvre, a work which bears a certain analogy to the Pergamene sculptures, but is about twenty or thirty years earlier.

§ 2. **The Art of Pergamum.** We have said that the desire for the creation of art was called forth in Pergamum by an event of national importance. This was their defeat of the Gauls or Galati. To understand the deep impression which this event had upon the minds of those who took part in it, we must appreciate the magnitude of the crisis. It was just a century after the burning of Rome by the Gauls that this dreaded nation appeared on the borders of Greece⁴. In B.C. 280 they defeated

³ See below, chap. 8, § 6.

⁴ Paus. 10. 22 gives an account of the Gauls in Greece; Livy 38. 16 of *the war in Asia*.

the Macedonians, passed southwards, turned Thermopylae by the same hill-path which Ephialtes had betrayed to the invading Persian two hundred years before, and seemed for the moment destined to carry out the work of destruction reserved for Alaric and his Goths six centuries later. But at Delphi the Aetolians rallied all the forces of resistance and annihilated the invaders. Another horde had turned eastward toward the Hellespont and the Bosphorus; invited into Asia Minor as mercenaries by a Bithynian prince, Nicomedes, they gained a permanent footing there, and carried on a merciless war of plunder through all the neighbouring coasts. Though in 261 Antiochus gained the surname of *Sotér* for a victory over them, the internal dissensions of the Seleucid dynasty prevented really energetic measures, and the final deliverance came from a new kingdom which had arisen since the revolt of Philetaerus from Lysimachus, having its capital at Pergamum. Attalus I, who had succeeded Eumenes I on the throne in B.C. 241, refused the tribute demanded by the Gauls, gained a crowning victory over them, and finally confined them within the district in central Asia Minor which afterwards bore their name, Galatia.

The Attalid princes, Attalus I (241-197) and Eumenes II (197-159), set on foot great monuments of sculpture, which owed their inspiration to the impulse derived from these struggles. These monuments, as far as the existing remains are concerned, fall into two great groups; (1) the dedicatory gift of Attalus to Athens, which apparently was a reproduction of a similar monument set up in Pergamum itself; (2) the great altar of Zeus and Athena, built on the Acropolis of Pergamum. The date of this last is not absolutely fixed; it may have been begun by Attalus and continued by Eumenes II.

§ 3. **The Dedicatory Gift of Attalus to Athens**⁵. The literary evidence for these sculptures is a notice in Pausanias⁶

⁵ Specimens, Ov. 2. p. 205, fig. 124, etc.; Perr. 538-540.

⁶ 1. 25. 2.

account of Attica: 'Against the south wall (of the Acropolis of Athens) Attalus dedicated the legendary war of the giants, who once inhabited the parts about Thrace and the isthmus of Pallene; the battle of the Athenians against the Amazons; their exploit at Marathon against the Medes; and the destruction of the Galati in Mysia. Each figure is about two cubits.' Pliny⁷, in his account of the history of working in bronze, gives the names of certain sculptors 'who wrought the battles of Attalus and Eumenes against the Gauls, Isigonus, Phryomachus, Stratoniceus, Antigonus.' A basis was discovered at Pergamum, inscribed with a notice of victories won over the Gauls and neighbouring princes (Prusias and Antiochus), and this appears to have once had bronze figures fastened upon it. Putting these facts together, we are led to the conclusion that historic monuments similar to those seen by Pausanias at Athens, perhaps larger originals, were set up by Attalus in Pergamum. It will be observed that the sculptures described by Pausanias fall into three groups: (1) the representations of the actual contemporaneous event, the real struggle between Pergamene civilisation and Gallic barbarism; (2) the mythical prototypes of this contest, in two groups; (3) its historical prototype. There is something very singular in this juxtaposition of contemporaneous, historical, and mythical scenes. It shows on the one hand the tenacity of tradition; when first sculpture began to be realistic and represent contemporary battles, the old method, sanctioned by the practice of a great past, of symbolising modern achievements by mythical analogies, was combined with the new; and thus the real stood side by side with the legendary and allegorical battles as their commentary and interpretation. On the other hand, the introduction of the scene of Marathon was doubtless partly to confer honour upon Athens, but it was also due to the desire of the Asiatic princes to be regarded as members of the Hellenic body and the inheritors of Hellenic renown.

⁷ N. H. 34. 84.

The remains consist of a series of detached figures considerably under life-size, chiefly found in Naples and Venice, representing Gauls, Persians, and Amazons in various attitudes of defeat. No specimen of the victors in each strife has as yet been identified. For the present these monuments must be the study of the archaeologist rather than the artist. Isolated from the groups of which they once formed part, they are devoid of artistic unity, and corresponding interest. It is not certain whether they are the actual originals formerly brought to Rome from Athens, or whether they are reduced copies.

§ 4. **The Dying Gaul**⁸. This monument was found in the sixteenth century among the ruins of the gardens of Sallust at Rome, and now forms one of the chief ornaments of the Capitoline Museum. The right arm from the shoulder, and the piece of base on which it rests, are restorations. The horn should have had a mouth-piece instead of a second bell.

The nationality of this dying figure seems clearly proved by certain signs which tally with the descriptions of ancient authors. The most easily recognised are, the thick bunches of pomaded hair, which is pushed straight back from the forehead and grows low down on the nape of the neck⁹, the un-Greek features and profile, the mustache worn alone, the 'torques' or twisted collar, the large and wrinkled hands and feet, the great shield and circular battle-horn. Not all these are confined to Gallic tribes, but put together they leave no doubt of the nationality.

That being so, and since the statue is thought to bear a certain family resemblance to the smaller statues mentioned in the foregoing section, there is a certain presumption in favour of its being a work of Pergamene art, but whether it formed part of the Attic group, or was first erected in Pergamum itself, cannot be ascertained. With the present work must be classed

⁸ Ov. 2. 218; Perr. 558; Redf. 235.

⁹ Tac. G. 38, 'apud Suebos usque ad canitiem horrentem capillum retorquere suetum.' Juv. 13. 165, 'madido torquentem cornua cirro.'

a very remarkable group as probably furnishing another example of the style of Pergamene art. It is the group in the Villa Ludovisi at Rome, formerly called 'Paetus and Arria'¹⁰, now known to represent a Gaul, who has killed his wife in the desperation of defeat, and now turns his sword against his own breast.

From these questions of art-history we turn to the statue itself. The fact that the dying man is a Gaul would not in itself preclude the supposition of a Dying Gladiator, the name which was formerly given to the work, since the Romans sometimes compelled gladiators to fight with their national weapons and in national costume. And this view of the situation must be of permanent interest for Englishmen from the poetic rendering Lord Byron has given of it in his *Childe Harold*¹¹:—

'I see before me the gladiator lie:
He leans upon his hand—his manly brow
Consents to death, but conquers agony,
And his drooped head sinks gradually low—
And through his side the last drops, ebbing slow
From the red gash, fall heavy, one by one,
Like the first of a thunder-shower; and now
The arena swims around him—he is gone,
Ere ceased the inhuman shout which hailed the wretch who won.'

But a little thought will convince us that the sentiment thus conceived is modern and un-Roman. The Roman would not have tolerated such a rebuke of the cruel pastime he delighted in. If, as seems probable, the monument dates from the period under review, the pathos of the situation lies, not in the revolt of natural sympathy against the cruelties of a Roman holiday, but in the stubborn heroism displayed by a savage, yet brave people, which refuses to accept defeat or to endure slavery. The Gaul has received his death-wound, or it may be that, as the manner of his nation was, finding himself overpowered he has turned his sword upon himself, and now, stretched upon his shield,

¹⁰ See the well-known story in the letters of the younger Pliny, 3. 16.

¹¹ *Canto 4, stanza 140.*

hardly supporting himself with his arms, while his body instinctively bends over the wound in such a manner as to ease the sharpness of its pain, he awaits death with grim resolution that 'conquers' the 'agony' expressed in the wrinkled brow, the drooping head, and the hard-drawn labouring breath. The Gaul dies like Saul or Brutus; the pathos of voluntary death is enhanced by the pathos of defeat. Yet it is not this alone which touches us; the dignity of pathos is enhanced by the truth and force of expression, which the instinctive judgment sees carried out in every limb and line—the slow ebbing away of life:—

'Paulatim exsolvit se corpore, lentaque colla
Et captum leto posuit caput¹².'

A reference to the figures of wounded men in the Aeginetan pediment will bring into prominence the superior realistic power of the Pergamene sculptor.

§ 5. **Reliefs from the Great Altar of Zeus on the Acropolis of Pergamum**¹³. The discovery by a German engineer of some slabs of a large frieze built into the walls of a Byzantine erection on the site of the ancient Pergamum led eventually to the equipment of a German expedition (1878–1881) which resulted in the acquisition for the Museum of Berlin of a series of slabs of extraordinary power and the highest importance for the history of art, belonging to an altar of Zeus built on the Acropolis by the Attalid princes; next, of some other fragments of great beauty, especially a head of Aphrodite¹⁴; and lastly, in the complete exploration of the spot. The erection of the altar falls within the reigns of Attalus I and Eumenes II (B.C. 241–159); its date cannot be fixed more precisely. The only literary

¹² Virg. Aen. 11. 829.

¹³ View of reconstructed altar, Ov. 2. 231; Perr. 546. Reliefs, Ov. 2. 239; Murr. 2, pl. xxxvi; Perr. 550; Rayet, livr. 4; Harrison's *Studies in Greek Art*, fig. 9.

¹⁴ Murray, 2, pl. xxxii.

record is a curt notice by L. Ampelius¹⁵, who says, 'at Pergamum is a great marble altar, forty feet high, with very large figures; it contains a Gigantomachia (battle between gods and giants).'

From the architectural remains discovered it was possible to reconstruct the design of this altar. The frieze, with its cornice and plinth, decorated the sides of a platform, nearly square, erected upon a pyramidal basement of four converging steps; a continuation of the steps leading to the surface of the platform was cut through one side of it, the frieze being continued along the sides of the passage so formed. On this platform stood the altar, and round its margin ran a colonnade flanked on the inner side with a wall, likewise decorated with reliefs.

The slabs¹⁶ of the lower frieze, containing the Gigantomachia, are cut in high relief, and the figures are of colossal size. In spite of some defects, the general quality of the execution is of a very high order, and the groups are designed with great skill and fertility of imagination, although motives are occasionally borrowed from older works. But what chiefly strikes the beholder, and what gives these sculptures their special interest as illustrating the art of the period, is the grandiose spirit which reigns throughout, the constant effort to keep the expression of force at the highest degree of intensity. The spirit which animated these Pergamene sculptors is the spirit of the successors of Michael Angelo, Bernini and his school; or, to take a literary parallel, we are reminded of Dryden and the 'heroic' drama in England. The tendency everywhere displays itself to sacrifice everything to sheer force—a tendency which inevitably leads to bombast, if not controlled by a sense of the harmony of repose and the grandeur of attained rest. It would be unjust to say that the Pergamene sculptures are simply turgid; the sense of

¹⁵ *Liber Memorialis*, cap. 8, on 'Miracula Mundi.' He was a writer of the second century A.D.; his work is usually printed at the end of *Florus*.

¹⁶ Specimens of the frieze in phototype are published under the direction of the Royal Museum, by Seemann, Berlin.

external harmony, of the grace of form and line and proportion was still sufficient to keep the work within the limits which mark off the sublime from the turgid ; it is rather in the moral qualities that they are deficient, and the influence upon the mind through the eye of this perpetual passion and unrest is essentially inferior to the calm nobility which is the strength of the creations of the Pheidian age. The effect of the Pergamene sculptures is immediate and overwhelming ; we feel at once the full shock of this stupendous force ; the effect of the Parthenon sculptures is more gradual but more lasting ; familiarity only deepens our sense of the power of genius manifested in them.

The finest groups are that of Zeus and that of Athena.

Zeus is defending himself against the attack of three giants, two of whom have a human form, while the third, older and bearded, has the legs of a snake. Zeus has overcome two of his adversaries ; one sits on the left, brought down by the thunderbolt which is shown sticking in his left thigh in a manner startlingly realistic. The next has sunk on his knees before Zeus, and grasps at his right shoulder with his left hand ; he is weaponless ; the upturned face may possibly be meant to indicate terror at the sight of the aegis as the cause of collapse. The third giant, with his back towards us, holds out a panther skin in his left hand, and aims a blow with the right arm, which is broken off. The splendid figure of Zeus himself forms the centre of the group. The upper part of his body is nude, the lower limbs are draped with a heavy mantle. Extending the aegis with his left arm, with legs set well apart, he swings back the right hand, grasping a thunderbolt, in the very act to throw and crush his last opponent. His eagle aids him in confounding this adversary. The head of Zeus is unfortunately broken, but doubtless the idea of conscious strength expressed in the pose and the splendid torso was carried out there also.

In the second group, Athena, moving swiftly towards the left, has seized a youthful giant, wearing wide wings, by the hair, and is dashing him upon the ground. His resistance is already

paralysed by the serpent sacred to her, which has coiled about his left arm and right leg and bites at his breast. There is a strong resemblance between this giant and the Laocoon. In the direction of the extended left arm, as if in answer to its mute appeal, rises from the ground the Earth-Mother, Gê, whose name is inscribed on the slab beside her; her left arm bears the cornucopia, symbol of fruitfulness; her right (broken) was raised towards Athena in supplication for her children. The lower part of her face is broken; the eyebrows and forehead, in their expression of intense sorrow, recall the features of Niobe. On the right, above Gê, a winged Victory floats towards Athena to crown her ¹⁷.

§ 6. **Rhodian Art. The Colossus of the Sun-God.** When the rest of Greece either fell directly under Macedonian sway or wasted itself in perpetual struggles against superior power, the Rhodians maintained a vigorous independence, and gaining wealth by their trade, devoted themselves to the cultivation of art. The extent to which this art was developed is attested by indirect notices gathered from Pliny, and from a long series of bases inscribed with artists' names ¹⁸, found in Rhodes itself, and dating from this time; its leading characteristics must be sought in a study of two monuments, one now at Naples, called the 'Farnese Bull' (Toro Farnese), representing the punishment by Zethus and Amphion of their step-mother Dirce, the largest group which has come down to us, though very greatly the work of modern restorers ¹⁹; the other the group of Laocoon and his sons. Before considering this, we will bestow a passing notice upon the celebrated Colossus.

The sculptor, or architect, of the Colossus ²⁰ was Chares, a

¹⁷ A detailed examination of the Pergamene Frieze will be found in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, by L. R. Farnell.

¹⁸ Overbeck, *SQ.* 2006-2030.

¹⁹ The sculptors were men of Tralles, but the group was brought to Rome from Rhodes.

²⁰ *Plin. N. H.* 36. 37.

Rhodian, pupil of Lysippus. It was sixty or seventy cubits high; fifty-six years after its completion it was thrown down by an earthquake, being broken at the knees, 'but even as it lies there,' says Pliny, 'it is a marvel to see; few can embrace its thumb, and its fingers are bigger than most statues; huge caverns gape in the shattered limbs; inside are seen the great blocks of masonry by whose mass he (Chares) had secured it when setting it up. It was made in twelve years for 1,300 talents, the spoil of the Rhodians from the siege-apparatus left by King Demetrius, which fell to them when he got tired of the siege and abandoned it.' It was reckoned one of the seven wonders of the world. The story that it straddled over the entrance of the harbour, so that ships sailed between its legs, is a pure invention, found in no ancient authority.

§ 7. **The group of Laocoon and his sons devoured by serpents.** The date of the Laocoon, which Pliny²¹ tells us stood in his day in the house of Titus the Emperor—a work, as he thought, 'preferable to all other creations both of pictorial and plastic art,' wrought by the consummate masters Agesander, Polydorus, and Athenodorus, Rhodians—has been the subject of infinite dispute, some taking the group as the representative of Rhodian art of the period now under review, and others putting the date of its creation in the lifetime of Titus. But the discovery of the Pergamene marbles, and the strong resemblance between them and the Laocoon, seem to set the matter at rest. The works must be the product of the same time, and indeed the Pergamene and Rhodian schools must have been very nearly allied.

The story of the Laocoon may be read in the second book of Virgil's *Aeneid*; the difference in the treatment of the subject by the poet and the sculptors gave rise to Lessing's celebrated book entitled '*Laocoon*,' wherein he treated of the limits of plastic art. The sculptors have chosen the moment when the two

²¹ Plin. N. H. 36. 37. See Ov. 2. 276; Murr. 2. 363; Perr. 521; Redf. 238.

serpents, sent by Athena to punish Laocoon for his desecration of the sacred Wooden Horse, have already enveloped Laocoon and his two sons. The three figures represent three phases in the catastrophe. The elder son, on the spectator's right, is involved in the coils of the serpent, and while seeking to extricate himself, not yet having been bitten, he turns with an expression and gesture of horror towards his father. Laocoon himself has fallen against the altar on which he was about to offer sacrifice. His attitude is a realisation of the most frightful physical torture. The serpent, whose head he vainly clutches with the involuntary and convulsive movement of agony, has bitten his side, and the shrinking of the body from that place and the contraction of the muscles of the stomach show that the poison spreads instantly through the frame. His right arm—a restoration—is at present raised, also clutching the snake, but it is certain that in the original the serpent coiled round the arm at the shoulder, while Laocoon clutched at his own hair. His open mouth must certainly signify a cry, though Lessing thought this would weaken the nobility of our conception of Laocoon. The younger son is past resistance; he feebly pushes at the head of the second snake, whose poison has already penetrated and subdued his body; his limbs are even now collapsing in death and sinking under him.

It is a picture of physical pain such as many sensitive natures cannot bear to look at. Pictures of pain in the world of art are only tolerable in so far as they are redeemed either by some collateral sentiment called up by, but not actually contained in, the work itself—as in mediaeval pictures of St. Sebastian associated with the sanctity of Christian martyrdom—or by the artistic and imaginative qualities of the work, the sublimity of conception and grandeur of realisation which raise it above the sphere of ordinary humanity. In the Laocoon, our terror is scarcely mitigated, as Lessing thought, by our pity for the suffering of a noble nature; the sense of pain is lost, if lost at all, in the sense of wonder at the extraordinary power of the

sculptor's art to conceive and express pain, just as in a poem a description of horrors may be veiled by the sublime imagery in which that description is conveyed. The important point to observe is that this Rhodian school pushed to extreme limits the tendency first observed in the works of the later Attic school, such as the Niobê, that their chief power lay in realistic presentations of startling and even terrible scenes, redeemed, as far as it was possible for them to be redeemed, by the boldness of their conceptions, by their perfect knowledge of anatomy, and by their skill in execution. The Laocoon is indeed a passionate work; yet the passion is born in the brain rather than the heart; the sculptors calculated the effect they intended to produce as carefully and deliberately as a tragic actor studies his part of simulated emotion.

The 'Toro Farnese'²² is a colossal work of similar character, the harrowing spectacle of a dreadful punishment inflicted upon a delicate woman, condemned by her revengeful step-sons and their wronged mother to be dragged to death by a wild bull. Although much of the work is modern, the restorations are believed to be in the main correct, and the group exhibits an extraordinary mastery both of composition and execution; as in the case of the Laocoon, if we could eliminate the moral effect, these qualities would entitle it to a high place in the history of sculpture.

NOTE.—Darwin in his 'Expression of the Emotions,' Chap. 7, p. 184 (ed. 1872), remarks that 'the ancient Greek sculptors were familiar with the expression of the grief-muscles in the human face, but that they committed the anatomical error of carrying the transverse furrows across the whole breadth of the forehead, instead of giving them the true rectangular form. It is suggested that these wonderfully accurate observers probably did this intentionally, from artistic reasons.'

The Laocoon is adduced by Mr. Ruskin ('Modern Painters,'

²² Plin. N. H. 36. 33. The sculptors were Apollonius and Tauriscus of Tralles. See Ov. 2. 303; Murr. 2. 360; Perr. 528; Redf. 195.

vol. 2, p. 64, ed. 1848) as a conspicuous example of the want of repose in art, and he adds some severe strictures.—‘I believe that by comparing the convulsions of the Laocoon with the calmness of the Elgin Theseus, we may obtain a general idea of the effect of the influence [of repose], as shown by its absence in one, and presence in the other, of two works which, as far as artistic merit is concerned, are in some measure parallel; not that I believe, even in this respect, the Laocoon is justifiably comparable with the Theseus. I suppose that no group has exercised so pernicious an influence on art as this; a subject ill chosen, meanly conceived, and unnaturally treated, recommended to imitation by subtleties of execution and accumulation of technical knowledge.’ In a note on this passage Mr. Ruskin supports this criticism by some observations on the habits of serpents, which he says were ignored by the Rhodian artists.

§ 8. **The Samothracian Victory**²³. A colossal draped figure of Nikê (Victory), put together from many fragments not long ago recovered from the island of Samothrace, now forms one of the chief ornaments of the Louvre Sculpture Gallery. It is finely placed at the top of a broad staircase, on its original pedestal, with adequate space round it from which it may be viewed, both from below and from the same level. The pedestal is formed of huge blocks of stone which appear rather unsightly in their present somewhat shattered condition, and even when we learn that the design is to represent the prow of an ancient trireme, or ship of war, the ponderous masses are suggestive of anything rather than the lightness of a sea-going vessel. On the deck of the ship, near the bow, stands Victory with wings outspread behind her. The action of the hands is known from coins; the right hand was uplifted and held a trumpet to the mouth, the left hand a cross of wood for a trophy-stand, the

²³ Rayet, *livr.* 2; Murray, 2. pl. xxxv; Overb. 2. 314. None of these illustrations show the restored figure, as it now stands; the upper part of the body, with the wings, is wanting in all. It has been published in autotype by Braun & Cie, Dornach.

holes for fastening which are seen pierced in the drapery. A figure almost precisely similar occurs on coins of Demetrius Poliorcetes²⁴, and it is concluded from this that the monument was erected to commemorate a naval victory won by Demetrius over Ptolemy, B.C. 306.

The statue is nearly double life-size, and forms a very noble and striking object. The head and arms indeed are missing, and the feet have been broken off in front, but the broad outspread wings have been skilfully attached, and these, with the exceedingly effective attitude and drapery, give the statue a unique place among monuments of the kind. It is natural to contrast it with the Victory of Paeonius. In the older statue, the natural figure stands out prominently, outlined in clearly defined contour against an accessory background of curving lines of floating drapery. All the drapery on that figure is carved somewhat flatly, so as to interfere as little as possible with the human forms. In the Samothracian Victory the drapery is not composed as accessory but as a principal element in the effect. The inner garment is carried across the bosom in two deep curving folds, casting strong shadows; a heavy robe, gathered from behind below the waist, is massed over the lower limbs in two series of deeply cut folds making a diagonal cross, the outer limb of which is much more strongly marked; the main lines are returned in a grand sweep round the retiring left foot. Between these powerfully accentuated upper and lower shadows, the almost transparent drapery round the waist shows the natural body in striking contrast; the waist itself has that bend which is so effective in the *Vénus de Milo* of the same gallery. The Paeonian Victory is conceived as floating downwards through the air; the Samothracian stands in a striding attitude and meets the rush of air caused by the onward-speeding ship. The earlier design is simpler; the later luxuriates in contrasts of light and shadow, bodily forms and massive drapery.

²⁴ Rayet, *livr. 2*, and Gardner's *Types of Greek Coins*, pl. xii. 4.

CHAPTER VIII.

MISCELLANEOUS MONUMENTS OF VARIOUS DATES.

§ 1. **Introduction.** The reader of the foregoing pages will have already drawn the conclusion that the evidence for assigning any monument to a definite date is of various kinds. Sometimes this evidence depends upon literary sources, sometimes upon the known history of the place where the monument was found, sometimes an inscription upon it will enable a skilled epigraphist to determine the date by the form of the letters. But in many cases the style of the monument itself, its treatment and execution, and sometimes the kind of subject chosen for representation are our only guides. Such testimony is obviously only admissible when, through a prolonged study of dated monuments, it has been proved that successive periods and schools of art have different and definitely marked characteristics, and that these can be ascertained and measured.

Some examples of such monuments, assigned to a given period by their style, have been already described in Chapter IV, such as the Eleusinian and Orpheus Reliefs, and the Standing Diskobolos. In the present chapter a few more specimens will be given, some of which have enjoyed a long-continued celebrity which gives them special importance.

§ 2. **Head of Asklēpios** (Aesculapius)¹. This marble was found in the island of Melos, in a chapel dedicated to Asklēpios and Hygieia, together with many votive tablets and inscriptions; it is now in the British Museum. The head, which had in ancient times been broken and partially repaired again with

¹ Murray, 2, pl. xi; Lübke, i. 136; Rayet, livr. 7; Perr. 204. See especially Overbeck, *Kunstmythologie*, vol. i. p. 88.

rivets, is unlike any of the other existing representations of Asklep̄ios, and it has been conjectured that it originally belonged to a Zeus-statue, and fell into the possession of some one who pretended to work miraculous cures by its means, like the priests of Isis. At all events, the head is of the finest Greek workmanship, and it is interesting to compare it with the Otricoli bust of Zeus. The head of Asklep̄ios is thrown a little back and the wide open eyes look straight forward with a far-reaching gaze, not unlike that of Raphael's Madonna in the Dresden picture; it is as though the thoughts of the god were

‘Holding an unremitting interchange
With the clear universe of things around’;²

the forms of the massive forehead are modelled with a delicacy which creates an impression of a living and working brain. The expression is one of inspired contemplation; the god is as it were ‘self-gathered in his prophet-mind.’ The lower part of the face is less happy; the projecting beard gives a heavy look to the lower jaw. Zeus, on the other hand, turns his eyes towards the earth as though beholding the ways of men, and his gaze is full of graciousness, benevolence, and sympathy. If the work is really an Asklep̄ios-head, it is as far removed from the Homeric picture of the ‘blameless physician’ who was still mortal and whose sons were warrior-leeches in the camp before Troy, as from the conventional type of the Roman statues of this god, leaning upon a staff, upon which a serpent is coiled—figures possessing a certain dignity, but devoid of inspiration.

§ 3. **Statue of Demeter**³. This statue, found by Mr. Newton at Cnidos in 1858⁴, is now in the British Museum. The goddess is seated on a cushion upon a stool without arms; her upper garment is drawn over the back of the head as a hood;

² Shelley, *Mont Blanc*.

³ Rayet, *livr.* 5; Murray, 2, *pl.* xxiii.

⁴ See Newton, *Travels in the Levant*, vol. ii, pp. 175, 177.

thence passed under the right arm it is thrown across the bosom and over the left arm in broad but not heavy masses, and descends to the feet in rich folds, now much broken. The head is of Parian marble, let in by a jointure below the base of the neck to the body, which is of less costly stone. The back of the statue is only partially worked, from which it may be concluded that it was meant to stand in a niche. The finely wrought hair with the long curls descending on each side of the face may be contrasted with the plain head-dress of the earlier type of this goddess in the Eleusinian relief. The arms are gone, and the nose and chin have suffered injury, yet in spite of its broken condition we may recognise in this statue the most perfect type of all existing statues of the goddess. Demeter is here conceived not merely as the giver of the fruits of the earth, like the Roman Ceres, but as the universal mother, by whose bounty all men are nourished. Moreover the artist has had in his mind the story of her long wanderings in search of Persephonê, whom Hades carried off to be his bride in the shades below. The face is of a type more human in its softened beauty than the Greek ideal types usually are. While her features express motherly grace and tenderness, there is imprinted in their chastened melancholy the record of the sorrow the goddess once endured in her search for her lost daughter. Such a study of expression would naturally lead us conjecturally to attribute the statue to the school of Scopas and his contemporaries, since we know that the sphere of their activity extended as far as Asia Minor.

§ 4. **Bronze Head**⁵, called 'Castellani;' in the British Museum. Little is positively known about this beautiful fragment, which is usually assumed to be a head of Aphrodite, though sometimes called Artemis. It was probably found in Armenia, and has been conjectured⁶ to be the head of a statue of Anaitis (Anahit), an Armenian divinity, modelled upon the type of the

⁵ Rayet, livr. 5; Murray, 2, frontispiece; Redf. do.

⁶ By M. Rayet.

Greek Aphrodite, or a Greek statue carried off by some Armenian king to adorn his native land. Bronze being a more perishable material than marble, it is not surprising that few ancient bronze works have descended to our time, and such as have come down to us are mostly ornaments of small size. The accident which overwhelmed Herculaneum has been the means of preserving a number of fine specimens of bronze work of the Roman period; Greek bronzes are, however, rare, and among such as exist this head holds indubitably the foremost place. It is noticeable that the eyes are left hollow, and were filled in with some kind of enamelled stone. The slightly parted lips lend such animation to the face that we are tempted to exclaim, like Leontes in *Winter's Tale*,

‘There is an air comes from her; what fine chisel
Could ever yet cut breath?’

The work may be conjecturally assigned to the fourth century B.C.; it cannot well belong to an earlier time, for in the works of the Pheidian period the mouth and chin are always more squarely drawn than in the present head, and the expression is consequently more severe.

§ 5. **Head of Hera**⁷. This head, called the ‘Ludovisi’ head, is in the villa of that name at Rome. Although found in Italy, it is universally agreed that this celebrated bust is a Greek original work, and a comparison with other busts of Hera leads to the conclusion that it belongs to the period of Praxiteles. In this head the ideal representation of Hera is finally reached and completed. Her majestic countenance marks her as the queen of heaven; her beauty, exceeding earthly loveliness, befits her as the bride of Zeus. The high, smooth forehead, set off by the wavy lines and deep shadows of the hair, the full mouth and chin, indicate strength of character and firmness of will which might approach to sternness were it not relieved by the mild, widely open eyes, and

⁷ Lübke, I. 167.

the soft oval of the cheeks. She is crowned with the *stephanê*, on which are alternating palmettes and lotus-flowers, symbol of fruitfulness; this crown, besides being a type of sovereignty, serves the artistic purpose of heightening and giving a more commanding aspect to the head. Below the *stephanê* is a fillet, which may be intended to mark Hera's priest-like functions as the goddess who presides over the sanctity of marriage. From the manner in which the head is set erect upon the massive neck, it may be gathered that it once formed part of a colossal statue.

In the British Museum will be found a noteworthy head, found at Girgenti (Agrigentum) in Sicily, in which the expression is more severe, with less womanly grace. The element of stern resolve, indicated by the firm lines of the mouth and squareness of chin is again more prominent in a third bust, called the 'Farnese' bust, at Naples. These three heads, the Farnese, the Girgenti, and the Ludovisi, are interesting as showing three successive stages of the development of the type of Hera. The Farnese type is thought to be most akin to the celebrated Polycleitean statue.

§ 6. **Statue of Aphrodite called Vénus de Milo**^{*}. The statue of Aphrodite in the Louvre, called the 'Melian Venus' (Vénus de Milo), found in 1820 in the island of Melos, is one of the most celebrated and most beautiful of all ancient statues. It is far superior in grandeur of conception to any other representation of the goddess. The commanding attitude and the calm and self-contained mien combine to make the expression singularly noble; the beauty that befits the goddess of love is united with a proud consciousness of divine power. It is this which has gained for the statue the name 'Venus Victrix,' the goddess who compels the homage of men and sways all nature, as she is addressed in the exordium of Lucretius' poem, 'sole mistress of the nature of things, without

^{*} Ov. 2. 331; Murr. 2. 271; Perr. 601.

whom nothing rises up into the divine borders of light, nothing grows to be glad or lovely.' The wonderfully fine modelling of the well-preserved surface has imparted to the stone almost the softness and warmth of life itself, an effect enhanced by the mellow tones of the marble. In the face of the goddess the characteristic features of her type are to be observed and contrasted with those of Hera in the Ludovisi head, as the relatively small eyes and narrower forehead.

The date and reconstruction of the statue, which has lost both arms, are matters of keen dispute, and have given birth to a literature of controversy. It will be seen from what follows — that the two questions are intimately connected.

(1) *Date.* If we are to judge by the evidence afforded by the statue itself, we must set on one side the dignity of the expression, which points to a period when artists had still the power of conceiving such exalted types, as the fourth century; and on the other, the proportions, especially the small size of the head in relation to the body, which indicate a time later than the new Lysippean canon, if this be applicable to female figures. The last consideration would seem to carry most weight.

The external evidence is conflicting. With the statue was found a basis, which was said to be slightly higher than the existing plinth of the statue, but to fit it exactly on the left side (of the figure), so that the raised left foot of the goddess rested on it. It was so drawn by a painter, Debay, who also copied an inscription upon it. This drawing is now the only authority for the basis and its inscription, since the block itself has disappeared. The inscription gives the name of the sculptor, '[Ages]andros⁹, son of Menides of [Ant]ioch on the Maeander made it.' This city was founded by Antiochus Soter, who died B.C. 261, while palaeographers fix about B.C. 180 as the earliest possible limit of date for the inscription. Those who accept the enlarged basis as genuine accordingly place the execution of the

⁹ The letters in brackets are defaced in the original, which runs . . . ανδρος Μηνιδου . . . ιοχους απο Μαιανδρου εποησεν.

statue in the middle of the second century B.C.; those who reject its evidence incline to an earlier date, and even refer the type to the influence of Scopas.

(2) This basis is obviously an important element in the question of restoration. If genuine, it implies that something stood on the goddess' left side, and since the drawing shows a square hole sunk in the upper surface of the block, this must have been a pillar or *cippus*, on which some object held by the figure rested. And, in fact, a statuette, resembling in general pose the Melian Venus, leaning upon such a *cippus*, is preserved in the Ashmolean Museum, at Oxford (Arundel Marbles). The object held is assumed to be a shield; this shield is the shield of Ares, and Aphrodite's possession of it indicates her triumph over that war-like god. Her left hand, which the stump of the shoulder shows to have been upraised, would thus rest upon the upper rim of the shield; her right hand would be supporting the robe, which is cast loosely round her lower limbs. The bend of the body certainly seems to require some counterbalancing weight on the left side.

Others, who adopt the shield but reject the enlarged basis, suppose that the goddess held the shield in her two hands, the left above and the right lower down, and rested it on her knee. This resembles the attitude of the 'Capuan' Venus¹⁰, at Naples.

A totally different view is that which supposes the goddess to be elevating in her left hand an apple, her peculiar attribute, symbolising partly her victory in the well-known contest of beauty, and partly her function as the power of fertile nature. The right hand would support her robe, as in the first scheme. This plan has the advantage of rendering the statue more self-sufficient, and it takes into account some fragments of an arm and a hand holding an apple, which were found in the same niche as the statue itself, though it has been strenuously denied that they belong to the statue. The emblem of the apple (*μῆλον*) might also be appropriate to the name of the island, as

¹⁰ D. A. K., pt. ii, pl. 25, No. 268.

the Greek coins frequently exhibit emblems with punning references to the names of the states which issued them (as the rose of Rhodes, the seal of Phocaea, etc.).

The statue was undoubtedly executed as an independent work, and yet was probably not wholly original in conception, since the numerous variations of the fundamental theme (several of which may be seen in the Louvre itself) pre-suppose some well-known statue as the source of inspiration, while the obscurity of Melos in historical times rather precludes the supposition that our existing statue was the archetype.

§ 7. **The Apollo 'Belvedere'.** Although our more extended acquaintance with the great original works of Greek genius has caused this statue to be ranked lower than it was in former times, when the Parthenon sculptures were unknown, its long-continued popularity will always entitle it to a place in the history of the art. It was found at the end of the fifteenth century near Antium, and during the papacy of Julian II it was restored by Montorsoli, a pupil of Michel Angelo, and placed in the Belvedere of the Vatican. The most important restorations are the left hand and the fingers of the right hand. The restorer has placed in the left hand the stump of a bow, assuming, in common with all archaeologists until a recent period, that the god was to be conceived as 'Kallinikos,' the 'victorious,' having just discharged an arrow, either at the dragon Python, or, as some suggested, at one of the earth-born giants. The enthusiasm which was felt and expressed for the statue by Winckelmann (A.D. 1717-1768), the father of scientific classical archaeology, finds an echo in the noble lines of Lord Byron:—

'Or view the Lord of the unerring bow,
The God of life, and poesy, and light—
The Sun in human limbs arrayed, and brow
All radiant from his triumph in the fight;

¹¹ Ov. 2. 318 (restored with aegis); Redf. 219; Perr. 611, (do.)

The shaft hath just been shot—the arrow bright
 With an immortal's vengeance; in his eye
 And nostril beautiful disdain and might
 And majesty flash their full lightnings by,
 Developing in that one glance the Deity¹².'

The peculiar merit of the statue is that its conception embodies a poetical idea, the charm of which at once captivates and carries away the beholder, as it expresses the easy victory of the bright and joyous god, and a sense of triumph, mingled with scorn, for the foe. Its graceful pose and its slender proportions seem studied with a view to this immediately striking effect, no less than the merely ornamental accessories, as the hair gathered in a knot over the forehead, and the elaborate sandals. The absence of any indications of veins and sinews was thought by Winckelmann to be the sculptor's manner of showing the etherealised nature of the godlike form, though we know, from the torso of Poseidon in the west pediment of the Parthenon and many other examples, that the Greek sculptors of the best period did not fashion their divinities so. The scale of proportions, especially the length of the lower limbs in relation to the body, indicates a date later than the new canon of Lysippus.

The publication of a small bronze at St. Petersburg (called the 'Stroganoff' Apollo), in the attitude of the Apollo Belvedere, but holding in the right hand what appeared to be the end of a leathery substance, the lower part of which was broken off, led to a different view of the motive. It was assumed that the god was holding, not a bow, but the aegis of Zeus, in the manner described in the fifteenth Iliad¹³, where

¹² Childe Harold, 4. 161. Milman's Newdigate Prize Poem follows Winckelmann:—

'All, all divine—no struggling muscle glows,
 Through heaving vein no mantling life-blood flows,
 But animate with Deity alone
 In deathless glory lives the breathing stone.'

¹³ vv. 306 foll.

Apollo advances at the head of the Trojans, and affrights the Achaeans by flashing the aegis in their faces. In searching for the original of this statue, archaeologists pitched upon a group of Apollo, Artemis, and Athena, set up by the Aetolians¹⁴ in Delphi, after their defeat of the Gauls (B.C. 279), and it was next proposed that the statue of Artemis¹⁵ in the Louvre (called 'Versailles' Artemis, or 'Diane à la Biche'), which bears some resemblance in workmanship to the Apollo Belvedere, and an Athena in the Capitol Museum, were copies of the statues grouped with Apollo¹⁶. This attribution, however, is no more than a guess. The object held in the hand of the Stroganoff bronze may be the end of the mantle, not an aegis. Again, the recently discovered Pergamene Gigantomachia exhibits the torso of Apollo in an attitude very similar to the Apollo Belvedere, and certainly discharging an arrow¹⁷. This then may, after all, have been the motive of the original; in any case, the repetition of the type shows that it was drawn from some celebrated statue, although we cannot certainly say what that statue was.

§ 8. **Miscellaneous Examples.** The present section deals summarily with a few more examples of the same kind as the preceding, of which space does not allow a large treatment.

In the Belvedere of the Vatican is a statue¹⁸ anciently called Antinous, now agreed to be a Hermes. A replica is in the British Museum¹⁹, another in Lansdowne House, another at Athens; each of these supplies some details wanting in the others, as the caduceus, talaria (winged sandals), etc. The god is in the attitude of rest, with his right hand placed upon his hip. From the strongly fashioned limbs and powerfully developed chest Visconti supposed the type to be that of Hermes Enagonios,

¹⁴ Paus. 10. 15. 2.

¹⁵ D. A. K., vol. ii. pl. 15, No. 157.

¹⁶ Overbeck, *Gesch. d. gr. Plastik*, vol. ii. p. 317 foll. (3rd edit.).

¹⁷ Id. Sketch on p. 242. *Journal Hellenic Studies*, vol. vi. p. 125.

¹⁸ D. A. K., vol. ii. pl. 28, No. 307.

¹⁹ *Guide to Graeco-Roman Sculpt.*, pt. 1, No. 171.

patron of the games of the palaestra. But the fact that the Athenian replica served as an ornament of a tomb may lead us to think rather of Hermes Chthonios, or Psychopompos, the conductor of the dead, and this suits better with the rather melancholy expression. A comparison of the proportions of this statue with the Hermes of Olympia has led to its being conjecturally attributed to the school of Praxiteles. Other celebrated statues in which the influence of Praxiteles may be traced, are the 'Apollino' in the Uffizi Gallery at Florence²⁰, and the group of *'Silenus carrying the infant Dionysus'*²¹ in the Vatican. The former is a type of a whole series of statues which show Apollo resting, with his arm reclined over his head, and the body thrown into the pose noticed above as a favourite manner of Praxiteles. The latter is a work characterised by great tenderness of feeling, and in its subject offers an analogy to the Hermes of this sculptor. A bronze statuette found at Pompeii and now in the Naples Museum, called *Narcissus*, ranks as one of the most graceful and poetic creations of antiquity. 'The delicacy of the forms, and a certain youthful bloom with a slight feminine element; the graceful carelessness of the attitude, the contrast between shoulder and hip, the even curve of the lines from the head to the feet, the free and varied play of the arms; finally, the way the legs are disposed so as to indicate the momentary suspension in equilibrium of a forward pace rather than a position fixed and erect, all this betrays at once the school of Praxiteles, if not the hand of the master²².' An exquisite bronze, the winged head of *Hypnos* (Sleep)²³ in the British Museum, and a corresponding marble statue, which is the chief glory of the gallery of antiques in the Prado at Madrid, is another most Praxitelean conception. The god glides forward with extended right arm (now broken) with easy yet swift motion, shedding the dew of slumber, exactly as in Shelley's invocation :—

²⁰ Perry, 433; Lübke, 1. 193.

²¹ Perry, 439.

²² Jules Martha in Rayet's *Monuments de l'Art antique*, livr. v, pl. 7; *Redf.* 25.

²³ Murray, 2. p. 259.

‘Then wander o’er city and sea and land,
Touching all with thine opiate wand.’

In speaking of the Pheidian statue of Zeus we have already noticed that the study of Zeus-heads on coins reveals two contrasted types of Zeus, one with a peaceful expression, slightly archaic in character, and with the hair lying flat; the other what may be called the leonine type, with masses of mane-like hair; and that the former is generally regarded as nearest the creation of Pheidias. The head called Asklep̄ios (above, § 2) is an example of this second kind, but the finest is that called the ‘*Otricoli*’ Zeus, from the place where it was found; it is now in the Vatican²⁴. Although it is of late Roman workmanship, probably executed in Hadrian’s time²⁵, the original must undoubtedly be referred to a Greek marble of a far earlier time, probably the fourth century. The countenance expresses the union of wisdom, betokened by the lofty and massive forehead, with gracious benevolence displayed in the eyes and mouth. The face is set in a frame, as it were, composed by the hair which rises straight from the forehead and falls in wavy masses on either side. In contrast with the Asklep̄ios head the face has a downward inclination, as though watching the ways of men.

Two statues of boy-figures are sometimes referred to Boethos, apparently a native of Carthage (or Chalcedon), who lived in the Macedonian period. The first is that of a *boy struggling with a goose*²⁶, of which many replicas exist, found, it is said, in one spot, which was therefore probably the workshop of a sculptor who made copies of popular works for sale; one is in the Louvre. The other is the so-called *Spinario*²⁷, or thorn-

²⁴ Redf. 42, etc.

²⁵ This is known from the marble used, that from the Carrara quarries (marmor lunense), which Pliny (N. H. 36. 4. 2) speaks of as ‘lately’ discovered. It is whiter and of a finer grain than the Parian.

²⁶ Plin. N. H. 34. 84. See, on this and similar groups, E. A. Gardner in *Journal Hell. Studies*, vol. vi.

²⁷ Paus. 5. 17. 4 (?). Rayet, *Monuments de l’Art antique*, livr. iv, pl. 9, gives illustrations of the copy at Rome and the fragment in the British Museum; Murray, 1. 228; Perr. 564.

extractor, of which also there are several copies. One of these is of bronze, in the Capitol at Rome; it is distinguished by the archaism of the style coupled with defective modelling in the limbs, which indicates either an early date, or that the statue dates from a time when archaism was fashionable, as under the influence of the school of Pasiteles (circ. B.C. 80). But a comparison with other copies—a marble fragment of much superior truth and freedom of execution in the British Museum, and a bronze statuette recently found at Sparta and now in the possession of Baron Rothschild—shows that the defects are attributable to the copyist rather than his prototype, and some have been inclined to assign the statue to the fifth century and the school of Myron²⁸. The motive of the statue seems to be to commemorate the courage of some winner of the boys' race in the Olympian games, in continuing his course despite the pain of a thorn in his foot; such a motive would suit the sculptor of Ladas well enough.

§ 9. **Portraits.** Some kind of portrait-statuary was no doubt practised through all the periods of Greek sculpture, but it did not become universal or wide-spread until after the periods of highest art. Two causes led to its increased development, one was the desire of cities like Athens to recall the images of the great men who had in former times ennobled their birth-place, and the other was the extension to the art of private patronage, so that it drew its subjects more from private life. One cause of the preservation of ancient portraits to our times was the passion of the Romans for this branch of the art, which they themselves indeed carried to a high pitch of perfection, as may be seen from the many fine imperial portraits remaining. Yet really good portrait-statues or busts of celebrated Greeks are after all rare²⁹. Of full-length statues, among the most

²⁸ Murray, *Greek Sculpture*, *loc. cit.*

²⁹ Visconti, in his sumptuous *Iconographie grecque et romaine*, published those which were known or guessed in his time.

noticeable are those of Sophocles, Euripides, Demosthenes, and Aeschines, and there are besides very expressive seated statues of Menander and Poseidippus in the Vatican. The Sophocles statue is in the Lateran at Rome; a fillet is bound round his head, which exhibits in its features the full bloom of manhood; he is clothed with the *himation* (large outer mantle) only, which serves as a rest for the right arm, and passing behind over the right shoulder, is gathered round him by the left hand and projecting elbow. The attitude is imposing, and is rather suggestive of a poetical recitation. The statue of Euripides is in the Vatican, it has been restored, but apparently correctly³⁰; there is also a small seated statue of him in the Louvre, and a fine bust in the British Museum. Demosthenes also stands in the Vatican, near the Apoxyomenos of Lysippus; he stands in a somewhat constrained attitude, with his arms held downwards clasping a roll (restored) before him. The face shows us the nervous, anxious statesman, full of thought and care, not the impassioned orator rousing his lethargic countrymen to action; and this contrast between his splendid oratory and somewhat insignificant presence bears out what is said of him in his biographies. His rival Aeschines stands in the Naples Museum in an attitude resembling that of Sophocles; his countenance exhibits easy good-nature. From the allusions by the orators³¹ to a statue of Solon with the hand drawn inside the robe, it appears that this attitude was characteristic, and that those who used gesture were blamed.

Among busts, besides those of Alexander, mentioned before, there are noticeable portraits of Pericles and Thucydides. The first is in the British Museum³²; a replica with more erect head is in the Vatican. It is a *hermes* or terminal bust, a form suggested to the Athenians by the wayside figures of Hermes—

³⁰ For the two statues, see Welcker, *Alte Denkmäler*, vol. i. The bust of Euripides is in the Hellenic Room of the British Museum (General Catalogue, p. 55).

³¹ Aesch. i. 25; Dem. de F. L., p. 420, § 251.

³² Hellenic Room, General Catalogue, p. 55.

square pillars with heads carved on them. The author of the best likeness of Pericles was Cresilas³³, and in reference to it Pliny remarks how art ennobles the nobility of great men. He meant, no doubt, that an imaginative artist, without entirely suppressing individual traits, brings into prominence ideal and representative features; and the ancients appear to have allowed considerable license in this matter. Pericles wears the helmet as the symbol of his authority, and his features are of the accepted Greek type; yet here, as in Demosthenes, we miss any indication of that magnificent oratory which gained for him the title 'Olympian.' A bust of Thucydides is preserved in Holkham House, and was identified as a Thucydides by Professor Michaelis. It shows us a man of intellectual but somewhat haughty features; the execution is rather conventional, as in a portrait-bust reproduced for trade purposes, and devoid of that delicacy of touch which might be looked for in features modelled from the life by a master of the art.

³³ See above, p. 65.

CHAPTER IX.

GRAECO-ROMAN AND ROMAN ART.

§ 1. Revival of Greek Sculpture under new conditions.

We have seen that the art of sculpture among the Greeks, religious in its origin and throughout maintaining a formal connexion with religion, was fostered during its prime by the potent influences of political freedom and a vigorous national life, and became the worthy vehicle for the highest permanent expression of these factors of human energy. We have also seen how the Hellenising states of Asia Minor drew from Greek culture this large view of art, and made it the starting-point for new creations of great force and originality. In Greece proper, after about B.C. 350, the art appears, so far as our meagre material enables us to trace its course, to have been confined to the humbler sphere of ministering to the tastes of private individuals. Pliny's assertion¹ that the art of bronze ceased after the 121st Olympiad (B.C. 296) and revived in the 156th (B.C. 156), has been assumed as true of all sculpture; but it seems more likely that the apparent breach of continuity is due to our lack of information, and that the traditions of art were handed on through a succession of capable and intelligent sculptors, who only required a fresh impulse to enlarge the sphere of their activity. This impulse came at last from Rome. After the subjugation of Macedonia and Achæa by the battle of Pydna (B.C. 167) and the capture of Corinth (B.C. 145), Greek art fell under the all-absorbing dominion of Rome. From this point there is a great revival of art, but it is a revival under new conditions: art is cultivated *by* the Greeks but not *for* the

¹ N. H. 34. 51.

Greeks; much that is outward remains, great technical skill, beauty of form, delicacy of feeling, but much of the inner inspiration gradually disappears, the play of free fancy, the self-abandonment of truly artistic natures in the creations of their own genius.

§ 2. **Graeco-Roman and Roman Art.** The term Graeco-Roman is applied to sculptures wrought by Greek artists working under Roman patronage but animated by Greek traditions. Early Roman art appears, from the little that our literary records tell us about it, and from the results of the most recent excavations and discoveries in Rome, to have been strongly Etruscan in its character; but as our present object is to trace the course of Greek art, this field of enquiry must be left unexplored. When the Roman came under the spell of the more highly cultivated Greek, when, as Horace² phrases it, 'captured Greece took captive her conqueror,' a new era began. First it was an era of plunder; next of imitation and reproduction; finally the art put on such new features that it may be regarded as a new development, when the term 'Roman' art becomes properly applicable. The immense majority of the numberless antique statues in our European galleries belongs to this age of revival; yet the number of works which can be assigned to a positive date, or placed within certain limits of time, is comparatively small, and the heterogeneous character of the remains renders the task of discrimination and classification singularly difficult. We must here be content with indicating certain broad and well-ascertained lines of demarcation.

§ 3. **The Era of Plunder.** The robbery of statues by the Romans began with the Italiote and Siceliote cities, as Tarentum, taken by Fabius Maximus (B.C. 209), and Syracuse, by M. Marcellus (212). The generals who subdued Macedonia and Achæa carried in their triumph long lines of waggons filled with the spoils of Greek genius, which they admired in an ignorant

² Ep. 2. 1. 156.

fashion. The soldiers of Mummius, conqueror of Corinth, destroyed much of priceless worth in sheer ignorance; the general himself gave the order that if any of the works of art he ordered to be sent to Rome was injured, it was to be replaced by the carriers³. Strabo asserts, doubtless with much exaggeration, that after the capture of Corinth the 'most part and best' of Greek statues found their way to Rome. State-plunder was succeeded by private robbery, as the biographies of Sulla and Lucullus and the indictments of such men as Verres abundantly testify; and this in turn gave way to the wholesale deportations instigated by imperial magnificence, and the policy or cupidity of Augustus, Caligula, and Nero. Pliny mentions an immense number of the Greek statues existing in Rome in his time.

§ 4. **Trade in Art; Imitation and Reproduction; Antiquarianism.** Then arose in private persons of wealth a desire to possess copies of favourite works, and the demand thus created was supplied by a crowd of handicraftsmen possessing excellent technical skill, whose lack of creative genius helped rather than hindered their success. Thus the most part of our existing Graeco-Roman sculptures represent, not a fresh departure, a new epoch, but a new fashion; they show us what the Romans especially admired in Greek art. As in their poetry, they set a high value upon form and finish; they preferred what was immediately taking to the eye, and demanded above all things elegance. They liked the graceful expression of commonplace better than the inspiration of new and noble ideas. Their coarser instincts also led them to seek for merely sensuous charm, and thus a debasing tendency becomes increasingly noticeable in their imitations. When they aimed at sublimity they were apt to mistake mere size for grandeur. On the other hand they were imbued with an antiquarian spirit, and this led to a curious revival of archaic mannerisms, but in such sculptures, generically termed *archaistic*, the refinements of later

³ Vell. P. I. 13; Strabo 381; Juv. II. 100-102.

skill always betray themselves through the affectation of antiquity. Many of the statues found at Pompeii belong to this class, as in a bronze statue of Artemis preserved in the Museum of Naples⁴.

As an illustration of the reproduction of Greek types, may be taken the 'Otricoli' bust of Zeus (Jupiter) in the Vatican⁵. Many also of the statues treated in the foregoing pages, as the Discobolos of Myron, were due to this impulse of reproduction.

§ 5. **Classification of Graeco-Roman and Roman Sculptures.** But the Romans were too vigorous a people to be mere copyists. They did not indeed naturalise Greek sculpture to the same extent as they naturalised Greek literature; but the genius of Rome stamped itself upon the creations of Greek chisels; the hands were almost always Greek, while the ideas were Roman. The dated or dateable works of this period fall into the following categories:—

(a) The original works of a school of Attic and Asiatic sculptors working under Roman patronage.

(b) The inscribed works of the disciples of Pasiteles, which appear to constitute a class by themselves.

(c) Historical, allegorical, and portrait-statuary, to which a powerful impulse was given by the practical temper of the Romans; also many other works of a purely decorative character. This section may be subdivided into—

(1) Portrait-statues.

(2) Reliefs on arches and columns.

⁴ Ov. i. 194; Redf. 117; Perr. 137. Other examples will be found in the British Museum; see, for instance, the *Relief of Apollo receiving a Libation from Victory* (Guide to Graeco-Roman Sculptures, pt. i, No. 169). This archaistic style must be distinguished from the *hieratic* style, where the earlier manner is preserved under the influence of religious association, as in the figure of Demeter in the Eleusinian Relief (p. 53). A good example of the hieratic style is a little statue of Persephonê, found by Mr. Newton at Cnidos, and now in the British Museum.

⁵ See p. 114.

- (3) Reliefs for the decoration of private houses, tombs, etc., and especially the reliefs on the numerous sarcophagi.
- (4) Sculptures dedicated to the service of new cults, such as that of Isis and Serapis, and lastly, in the time of Hadrian, of Antinous.

§ 6. **New Attic and Asiatic Schools.** The existence of these schools is gathered from a certain number of statues found in Italy, upon which the names of artists and their birth-places are inscribed⁶, in characters which epigraphists assign to the end of the republican and the beginning of the imperial age of Roman history. The chief of these statues are :—

(a) A torso of Heracles, commonly called the 'Belvedere Torso,' now in the Vatican, the work of Apollonius.

(b) An ideal portrait-statue of a Roman, presented under the form of Hermes Logios (god of eloquence), the so-called 'Germanicus' of the Louvre, the work of Cleomenes, son of Cleomenes, an Athenian.

(c) A statue of Heracles resting, in the Naples Museum (called 'Farnese'), the work of Glycon, an Athenian.

(d) A statue of a warrior (called the 'Borghese' or 'Fighting Gladiator') in the Louvre, the work of Agasias, son of Dositheos, of Ephesus.

(e) Two Centaur statues in the Capitol Museum at Rome, the work of Aristas and Papias, of Aphrodisias. These are probably of Hadrian's age. There is a replica of one in the Louvre.

(f) The Apotheosis of Homer, a marble slab in the British Museum, inscribed with the name of Archelaus, son of Apollonius, of Priene.

(g) The 'Venus de' Medici' at Florence bears the name of Cleomenes, son of Apollodorus, of Athens; but the inscription is of doubtful authenticity.

As examples of the tendencies of the school we choose the Heracles of Glycon and the Homeric Relief of Archelaus.

⁶ Overbeck, *SQ.* 2214-2234.

§ 7. **The Resting Heracles of Glycon.** The hero is here resting after his labours, leaning upon his club, which rests upon a rock; a lion-skin is thrown round the club; he holds in his right hand (restored) behind his back the apples of the Hesperides, the prize of his last exploit. The muscles of his mighty frame stand out in bold masses, swollen with past exercise, though now the tense strain is momentarily relaxed. The eyes of the hero are bent to the ground, and his thoughts seem to revert to the toil of the past: there is no indication of the triumphant sense of approaching apotheosis. In the proportions of the huge frame there is a want of just balance; the head, for example, is remarkably small in comparison with the rest of the body; the forms of the limbs are exaggerated in their hugeness; in the excessive display of muscularity the sculptor has apparently sought to show off his knowledge of anatomy at the expense of probability and artistic sense of just measure. There is a replica of the head in the British Museum⁷, wherein may be observed the swollen ears characteristic of the athlete trained in the boxing-school; the pupil of the eye is indicated by a line carved in the eye-ball, a practice first introduced in Roman times. On the whole, the sculptor, who is believed to have followed and modified an original work of Lysippus, has created an impression of force devoid of agility, and strength so developed as to become unwieldy and cumbersome. There is a sense of weariness in the expression which recalls to our minds the Hercules of Horace⁸, who 'learnt that death alone conquers the jealousy of men.'

The statue illustrates the great knowledge of anatomy possessed by the sculptors of the time, and their somewhat pedantic and over-wrought use of their science.

§ 8. **The Apotheosis of Homer**⁹. This slab, which is in the British Museum¹⁰, though not distinguished by any remark-

⁷ Guide to Graeco-Roman Sculpt., pt. i, No. 141. See the description of Amycus in Theocr. Id. 22, ll. 45 foll.

⁸ Epist. ii. 1. 10-12.

⁹ *Overb.* 2.

¹⁰ Guide to Graeco-Roman Sculpt., pt. i, No. 159.

able skill in the execution, exhibits a love of pictorial effect and a tendency to reproduce favourite motives, since many of the figures resemble the types of statues elsewhere preserved. It shows us a mountain-side, cut in a series of terraces. On the top sits Zeus, with sceptre and eagle; below, in two rows, the nine Muses, almost all of well-known types; Apollo as Citharædus, with lyre and flowing robe, stands in a cave before the *omphalos* of Delphi, and with the Delphian priestess standing by; the man on a pedestal before a tripod may possibly be meant for Hesiod. Below, Oikoumenê and Chronos (Earth and Time) crown Homer, seated and holding a sceptre and *aplustre* (ship's stern ornament); his chair is supported by the Iliad and the Odyssey, while the mice at its foot symbolise the *Batrachomyomachia*. In front is a sacrificial scene with an altar and cow for sacrifice, and Myth, History, Poesy, Tragedy, Comedy, Nature, Virtue, Memory, Faith, and Wisdom, approach with gestures of adoration. The names of all the lower rank are written below.

§ 9. **Pasiteles, Stephanus, and Menelaus. Group of Orestes and Electra**¹¹. Pasiteles was an Italian-Greek, who flourished as a sculptor about the time of Pompeius. He is mentioned by Pliny¹² as a historian of the art, besides being himself a sculptor of celebrity. Thus we hear of his reviving the art of chryselephantine statuary in a Jupiter which he made for the portico of Metellus, and Pliny (quoting from Varro) notices the exceeding care which he bestowed upon the clay-model¹³. We possess none of his works, but there is a statue in the Villa Albani inscribed with the name of Stephanus, who calls himself a pupil of Pasiteles, and a group in the Villa Ludovisi, called Orestes and Electra, by Menelaus, pupil of Stephanus, so that he appears to have been the founder of a school. The name given to the group by Menelaus is only one out of many guesses which have been made, as Aepytus and Merope, Tele-

¹¹ Ov. 2. 416; Perr. 625; Murr. 2. 390.

¹² N. H. 36. 39.

¹³ Ib. 35. 156.

machus and Penelope, and so on ; the comparative size and the protecting demeanour of the female figure incline us to regard the pair as mother and son rather than brother and sister. In any case the group seems to interpret itself most readily as an *ἀναγνώρισις*, one of those ' recognition-scenes ' which formed the turning-point of so many a Greek tragedy. We may regard it then as an illustration of the later drama, and from this point of view admire the entire unconsciousness and self-absorption of the actors, and the tender and refined sentiment breathed by the whole, touching as it does one of the commonest and yet deepest impulses of ordinary human life. The tender and gentle pathos is a characteristic note of a period lacking in power but not devoid of feeling.

§ 10. **Portrait-Statues.** Pliny¹⁴ gives us a detailed and interesting account of Roman portrait-statuary. The art, taking rise in Greece, was extended by the natural instinct of ambition over the whole world ; from public characters in public places, the *iconic* statue passed into private houses and was recognised as a common mark of respect to be paid by clients to their patrons. First the civic dress was adopted in such statues (*togatae effigies*) ; then ' nude statues holding a spear, imitated from the statues of youths in the Greek gymnasium, and called *Achilleae*, came into fashion.' He adds that nude statues were peculiarly Greek ; the Romans, by a military instinct, added the breast-plate. He tells¹⁵ us how the libraries were filled with portrait-busts, either real or fanciful, when ' desire of possession gives birth to unrecorded features.' Such a fanciful creation is the portrait-bust of Homer, of which there is a replica in the British Museum, found at Baiae¹⁶.

The statues of Augustus furnish us with examples both in civic and military dress ; there is one of the former kind in the Vatican, and another, admirably draped, in the Louvre ; while the second kind is illustrated by the splendid statue found in 1863 and now

¹⁴ N. H. 34. 17 foll.

¹⁵ Ib. 35. 9.

¹⁶ Guide to Graeco-Roman Sculpt., pt. i, No. 117.

in the Vatican. Augustus here stands in the attitude of command, with outstretched right arm, while the left holds the sceptre and supports the loose folds of the robe passed round the middle of the body. The statue is a fine impersonation of the imperial idea. The support is a dolphin, signifying descent from the goddess of the sea, Aphrodite; a small Cupid, whose diminutive size detracts from the effect of this commanding presence, rides on the back of the dolphin.

Nude statues of emperors or members of the imperial family, in the guise of Greek heroes, are not uncommon; the finest is a statue of M. Agrippa at Venice. It was but a step further to represent the emperor as a god, and even to fashion him after the type of the father of gods himself, as in the Vatican statue of Nerva.

There are also many female statues, some in the guise of divinities, or semi-divine impersonations, as 'Roma;' others more purely iconic, of which the grandest is the seated Agrippina in the Capitol at Rome.

§ 11. **Historic and Decorative Sculpture.** Here again the Romans found a field where their genius was at home. The relief-slabs on triumphal arches, as on the arches of Titus and Septimius Severus, and the spiral bands of relief round the columns of Trajan and M. Aurelius, must always awaken the interest of the classical student apart from any question of artistic merit, because they inform us of a number of points connected with Roman customs, and especially their military organisation, which we could not otherwise have divined. To exhibit a succession of scenes as nearly like the truth as possible, to minimise the ideal element down to the necessities of an effective grouping of figures, and so place on record actual, historical events, such was the limited view of the sculptor, calling above all things for taste in design and skill in execution. Commemorative sculpture, beginning with the allusive employment of analogous myths in the fifth century—

then admitting realistic figures whose action is still conceived in the old mythical manner, as in the Athenian monument of the Attalid kings—has now reached its final stage, and become wholly realistic.

§ 12. **Stucco Reliefs. Sarcophagi.** Some stucco-reliefs found in 1879 in a house near the Farnesina at Rome, though properly decorative and not strictly falling under the category of sculpture, are very important as showing to what a high pitch of technical excellence modelling had attained in the time of Augustus. They are now preserved in the Museo Tiberino, and exhibit two striking points of excellence; first, the delicate feeling with which animal and vegetable forms are utilised for decorative purposes, as ornamental scrolls; secondly, the close and loving observation of nature in small things. Yet these were probably the work of ordinary craftsmen.

Mostly later than these, and serving a decorative purpose of a different kind, are the reliefs on sarcophagi. As burial, partly under the influence of Christianity, began to supersede cremation among the Romans, the use of stone coffins became more and more frequent. The number of them preserved is very great, and they go down to very late times, exhibiting almost all possible grades of excellence or deformity.

The composition of the subjects in these reliefs is often strikingly simple and effective, but as time went on, the attempt to crowd more and more figures into the space resulted in loss of clearness and unity, and the strict laws of relief were violated by the introduction of smaller figures by the side of larger in ill-regulated perspective¹⁷. Sometimes single figures or groups will recall well-known types, and thus many a sarcophagus contains an echo of the past in some beautifully drawn figure standing in singular contrast to the general poverty of design. The subjects form a curious study. They are mostly chosen from such

¹⁷ Two examples are given by G. Scharf in the Introduction to Wordsworth's *Greece*.

myths as have special reference to the world after death, as those of Demeter and Persephonê; the legends of Artemis and Endymion, Eros and Psychê, Orpheus and Eurydicê, are translated into allegories of the human soul. The Bacchic cycle of legends is utilised, apparently as symbolising the setting-free of the soul from the pains of the world; the sarcophagus of Constantia thus bears a scene of Bacchic revel. Such a scene is depicted upon one of the finest of these monuments, a sarcophagus now in the Vatican. Here Dancing Fauns and Bacchantes with dishevelled hair and whirling drapery are celebrating their orgies, some girt with skins and wielding the thyrsus, others bearing cymbals and drums. Two nobly executed lions' heads stand out in bold relief at each end of the front of the sarcophagus, with Cupids beneath, riding upon lion-cubs. The whole scene has a magic fascination of movement like the lyrics of Euripides, when in the play of the 'Bacchae' he sounds the cry 'evoe! evoe!' and bids Thebe 'put on her ivy coronal and join the wild revel with boughs of oak or fir, with the thyrsus in her hand.'

§ 13. **Antinous.** As an example of the new types created to serve some new cult, in the days of the decline of the national religion, when new forms of emotion were eagerly welcomed, the ideal portraits of Antinous are remarkable. Antinous was a favourite of the emperor Hadrian, and being drowned in the Nile, was lamented by his friend with passionate and extravagant devotion. It was currently reported that he had sacrificed his life to save the Emperor's; at any rate Hadrian decreed his apotheosis, and caused him to be worshipped as a god, and this worship spread with incredible rapidity over the Roman world. Statues and busts of Antinous have been found in many quarters, and he appears under a great variety of forms, sometimes with divine attributes, as Dionysus (in a much-admired statue in the Vatican), and sometimes in heroic guise. There is a fine head of him in the British Museum¹⁸; another in the Louvre;

¹⁸ Guide to Graeco-Roman Sculpt., pt. i, No. 20.

a relief, showing the head and shoulders of Antinous carrying a crown of lotus in his hand, in the Villa Albani, was greatly admired by Winckelmann, who ranked it as one of the most beautiful products of antiquity. The features of Antinous are peculiar, and may be readily recognised by their soft, somewhat sensuous beauty, with full lips, and their melancholy expression.

§ 14. **Statues of Vestals.** A very remarkable series of portrait-statues has been brought to light in the last year or two during the extended excavations of the Roman Forum. These are statues of Vestals, in Parian marble, executed probably during the times of the Antonines and the subsequent period. The likenesses show us Roman types of stern beauty invested with singular dignity; the draperies are simply and yet effectively composed and rendered with sufficient depth, firmness, and fidelity, to prove conclusively that even at this late period there were sculptors who were masters in their peculiar line. It is to be hoped that these statues may soon be better known in England by the aid of casts. They show that sculpture in the second century after Christ stood still on a higher level than was before supposed, and as their date can be fixed within certain limits, they are a most important addition to our knowledge of the history of the art.

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